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CONTENTS

PAGE

When the War Machine Broke Down, by Prof. L. M. Larson 115

India To-day, by Prof. C. C. Crawford - - - 117

Classical History and Its Trend in America, by Prof. F. F. Abbott 121

The British Empire and What It Stands For, by Prof. G. F. Zook 127

The Study of the Far East, by Prof. K. S. Latourette - - 131

Aids for History Teachers in Schools - - - 132-144

The Drama of the Powers, by D. Horton, 132; "Bobbie and the War,"
Lessons on Reconstruction, 138

Preliminary Bibliography of Peace and Reconstruction —

Supplement - - - 151

Notes from the Historical Field, 144; American Historical Association Committees, 145;
Book Reviews, edited by Prof. W. J. Chase, 146; Recent Historical Publications, listed by
Dr. C. A. Coulomb, 149

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"When the War Machine Broke Down"

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

I.

Under this heading, *Berlingske Tidende*, a Copenhagen newspaper, in its issue of October 17, 1918, published a letter from its war correspondent, Henry Hellssen,¹ describing the political situation in Berlin in the earlier days of that month. The letter is not specifically dated, but must have been written at least a month before the armistice became effective. Apparently the neutral countries, and doubtless also the governments of the Allied nations, were informed of the impending collapse in Germany several weeks before the close of hostilities.

In the closing days of September, reports Mr. Hellssen, the streets of Berlin had a distinct "Mid-European" appearance. The hetman of Ukraine was in the city with a gorgeous retinue of Cossacks in scarlet uniforms. Bearded Bulgarian officers and Turkish beys and pashas were on the streets in considerable numbers. Talaat Bey had come up from Constantinople to take council with the imperial government, and incidentally to secure financial aid for the impecunious Turks. The German people evidently had no inkling of the fact that the great catastrophe was only six weeks distant. The military party was to all appearance hopeful, if not confident. In September, writes the Danish observer, Germany "sent to Bulgaria the complete equipment for 250,000 men—uniforms, boots, guns, and ammunition." And when Talaat Bey returned to Constantinople, his trunks contained 40,000,000 marks in German gold.

And then, just before the end of September, three events occurred which brought Berlin to a sudden realization that the war was lost.

1. When Talaat Bey on his return reached Sofia he learned that Bulgarian envoys were on their way to Salonica to negotiate an armistice (Bulgaria accepted the terms of the Allies on September 30). Talaat had intended to pay a visit to the court of his friend, Czar Ferdinand, but circumstances appeared unfavorable, and the Turkish politician hurried on with his forty million marks.

2. About the same time the Austrian government in-

formed Berlin that the dual monarchy was facing revolution in the Bohemian lands and elsewhere, and that consequently an effort to secure peace must be made before a specified date.

3. "One of the last days of September Ludendorff sent a telegram to Berlin from his headquarters, which at the time were located at Spa in Belgium (earlier a celebrated watering-place and gambling hell), informing the government that, in the face of a superior opposition constantly growing in strength, he should not be able to hold the west front longer than a fortnight."

Mr. Hellssen attributes the defection of Bulgaria to Bolshevism which was eating the morale out of the Bulgarian army. The Vienna correspondent of *Berlingske Tidende* viewed events in the Balkans in a more cynical light. It was currently believed in the Austrian capital that the government at Sofia had an understanding with the Allies, and that the Macedonian offensive was a melodramatic performance planned and intended to deceive the world. It is clear that the prime minister, Malinoff, was pursuing an anti-German policy; but whether he was at the same time a secret friend of the Allies is a question that cannot yet be answered, at least not affirmatively.

That Ludendorff actually did send a message of a very disquieting character appears from a statement by a resident of Haderslev (North Sleswick), whose impressions of those stirring weeks before the revolution are recorded in a letter published in *Berlingske Tidende* of November 24. The writer who signs with initials only (A. L., probably A. Lebeck), wishing to hear Prince Max deliver his maiden speech to the Reichstag as chancellor set out on a journey to Berlin, where he arrived on October 5.

"On my arrival in Berlin I immediately set out to find H. P. Hanssen, a member of the Reichstag [from North Sleswick], and discovered him in the large lobby of the Reichstag building. He greeted me with these words:

"Everything here is in ruins. Poland is lost; Alsace-Lorraine is lost; the throne is tottering. And here I am pacing up and down thinking about North Sleswick."

The astonished visitor wished to know what had really happened, and his informant continued:

"Hindenburg and Ludendorff have sent a message

¹ Henry Hellssen is a Danish war correspondent who has observed the progress of the war on nearly all the various fronts. In the winter of 1917-1918 he was in our own country studying the development of the national army. He has recently published a book on this subject entitled, "America Rejser en Haer" (America raises an army).

home, stating that they will be able to hold the front a short time only. More recently Hindenburg has personally said to the kaiser, '*Est ist die letzte Stunde*. Germany must have peace whatever the price.'

This was on October 5. Three days earlier the Kaiser had come to Berlin to preside at a crown council. Prince Max had also come to the city to receive the chancellor's office, and if possible to steer the wrecked empire into a safe harbor. On October 4 Scheidemann, the Social Democrat, took his seat in the imperial cabinet. Five weeks later the Socialists seized the entire government, even to the office of chancellor.

II.

"These four years of war," said Maximilian Harden to Henry Hellssen, "have been full of terror. We have groped about in an impenetrable fog of lies and deception."

But now the fog was lifting, and the Germans were beginning to see the facts of the situation as they really were. At a conference of the conservative members of the Reichstag, after the actual state of affairs at the various fronts had been laid bare, "Herr Von Heydebrandt, the leader of the Junkers and the uncrowned king of Prussia, burst into convulsive tears and screamed forth into the assembly, 'The high command has deceived us.'"

The nation was dismayed, but the correspondent saw no evidences of panic. "In Berlin the development of events was followed by a calm that was disconcerting." The old Germany was dying, but the masses appeared to accept the fact with indifference; and they accepted the new Germany in the same temper.

"The spread and growth of radicalism can be explained in this way only, that the masses—after four years of consuming struggle over minor matters, such as food, tobacco, clothes, and footwear, the increasing hardships of daily life—have become so dull and so tired that they have lost completely the power to feel deeply or to become excited. Defeat or victory, come what will. In the early years of the war there was such an extravagant outpouring of enthusiasm and national emotions that the individual long ago exhausted his supply."

In his search for the causes that led to the great catastrophe, Mr. Hellssen discovered that the much-advertised German efficiency did not extend to the intelligence service. On the authority of well-informed Germans he attributes the downfall chiefly to the shortcomings of the most prominent officer in the wonderful Germany army, General Ludendorff.

1. Ludendorff is a gambler; the spring offensive of 1918 was a gambler's throw. Much was apparently gained before the movement was finally checked in July, but in its larger features the plan failed.

2. Ludendorff and the Germans generally underestimated the resources of the French army. After the March offensive it was reported that the French no longer had any reserves; and this assertion was

repeated so often and so confidently that it soon came to be commonly believed.

3. Ludendorff knew nothing about "the English home army which was quietly being formed in Ireland, and which counted a million men, fresh troops and thoroughly trained."

4. Ludendorff was also ignorant concerning the stupendous military preparations of the United States. He did not know that 6,000 Americans were being landed daily in the Atlantic ports of Europe.

After Marshal Foch had begun his great offensive on the Marne in July, the Germans suddenly realized that the resources of their opponents had been underestimated. In an interview published in a French newspaper a few days after the death of Von Hertling, the ex-chancellor is quoted as saying:

"We expected grave events in Paris for the end of July. That was on the 15th. On the 18th even the most optimistic among us understood that all was lost. The history of the world was played out in three days."²

There seems to have been substantial agreement in Berlin that Ludendorff was also responsible for the continuation of the war. Before the spring offensive he was still a power in the councils of the empire. The Danish correspondent charges him with the responsibility for the outcome at Brest-Litovsk. "General Hoffmann and Von Kuehlmann protested against a peace of annexation; but Ludendorff telegraphed that unless there were annexations he would resign." And Hindenburg seconded his colleague, adding that he could do nothing without Ludendorff.

Mr. Hellssen absolves the Junkers from all responsibility for the outbreak or the continuation of the war; they are poor, uneducated, and harmless. The responsible elements he finds in the industrial centers of Westphalia—he mentions specifically three great families that have builded their fortunes on coal and iron: the Stinnes, the Thyssens, and the Krupps. He reports that the Stinnes family is said to have increased its wealth by 400,000,000 marks since the outbreak of the war. Here again Ludendorff is important.

"Ludendorff was a vassal of the iron industry. And these industrial magnates on the Rhine and in Westphalia, whose fear was peace, had sons-in-law or other connections on Ludendorff's staff. Every syndicate had its representative at the great headquarters. The press, the propaganda, foreign policies, all were directed by young place-hunters, who kept one foot at the headquarters and the other on the Rhine.

"Ludendorff, the modern Bonaparte, had but one great passion—war. The war was his work, his recreation, and his rest; it was his entire life."

But now his strength was spent. His finely drawn nerves were snapping. Sleep had left his couch. The great directing mind at the headquarters was worn and dull. It may not be true, as has been charged, that Ludendorff demanded peace at any

² *New York Times*, January 11, 1919.

price; but it seems clear that as early as September he had given up all hopes of winning the war. Since the armistice he seems to have been in hiding.

III.

During the last two months of his reign the Kaiser was evidently not an important factor in the government of the empire. The Empress was ill and he spent a great deal of his time with her. The people of Berlin seem not to have taken any great interest in his movements. For a little more than a month Prince Max governed Germany. And then came the revolution.

Austria capitulated on November 3. Serious demonstrations at Munich and Stuttgart were reported the following day; but the revolutionary movement was not of South German origin. If we can trust the press dispatches it began at Kiel on November 5. It seems likely, however, that the movement was in preparation before that date, though there were, perhaps, no violent manifestations before the outbreak at Kiel. The revolt spread at a rate that is almost incredible; in three or four days it had appeared in all the important cities of North Germany. The writer from Haderslev, A. L., whose letter to *Berlingske Tidende* has been quoted above, has this to say about the revolution in North Sleswick:

"On November³ 6 the movement reached Haderslev. The soldiers conducted their meetings in an admirably calm and orderly manner, but under a high

emotional pressure which those alone can appreciate who have lived through these remarkable days."

It seems evident that the revolutionary movement did not originate in the military field; the earliest report that we have of a soldiers' council at the front is dated November 12. There must have been soldiers in considerable numbers quartered in or near the German cities, and among these the uprising probably began. To what extent the soldiers actually participated in the movement cannot be known; it is reported that in some places they refused to attend revolutionary meetings. But even if they did not wish to join the movement, they did not care to resist it. Of four infantry regiments that were sent to Kiel to quell the uprising there, three promptly joined the rebels, and the fourth was disarmed.

The German newspapers attributed the revolt to Bolshevik agitation, and there can be no doubt that the Russian propaganda was a factor in the situation. But it is also evident that in the spread of the movement the leaders of German Socialism were suspiciously active. The first man of real importance whose name is mentioned in connection with the revolution is Gustav Noske (now secretary of military affairs), who was neither soldier nor sailor, but a Social Democratic member of the Reichstag. Noske headed the movement at Kiel almost from its very beginning. In Oldenburg, where soldiers' councils were organized on November 7, the Social Democratic members of the Landtag presided.

India To-Day

BY PROFESSOR C. C. CRAWFORD, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

India is about the size of the United States west of the Mississippi River, exclusive of Texas and Colorado. It is the home of 315,000,000, one-fifth of the human race. The responsibility of administering this vast empire, with a population more than two and one-half times that of Imperial Rome, rests upon England, over 6,000 miles distant by the nearest sea route.

After the western centers of trade with the Orient had been shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, the commercial rivalry between Spain, Holland, France, and England, and the need of concerted action against pirates and other perils of the sea, occasioned in 1600 the establishment of the English East India Company. Until 1765 the Company operating under charters from the crown confined its activities to the development of trade and commerce with the peoples of India and neighboring countries. During the eighteenth century, however, the conflict between the English and the French traders and the dangers from the anarchy resulting from the disintegration of the Mogul Empire practically forced the Company to assume territorial sovereignty. Commencing in

1765 with the grant of the Diwani, or fiscal administration of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, the Company by means of wars and treaties rapidly extended political control over much of India. Before long the British Parliament was convinced that these new responsibilities were too grave to be entrusted to a corporation of traders, and a long series of statutes gradually restricted the commercial privileges of the Company and controlled its political activities. The "double government" established by Pitt's India Bill in 1784, divided authority between a Court of Directors elected by the Company and a Board of Control under the British Cabinet. Conflict of authority and shifting of responsibility was inevitable. The Mutiny of 1857 proved the death blow to this unsatisfactory system, and the remaining powers of the Company in India were taken over by the British government in 1858.

The government of India, framed and largely directed by foreigners, is naturally autocratic in form. The conditions in India until the present have made such a form practically inevitable. Ninety-four per cent. of the population is illiterate. Nationality in any true sense does not exist. The census report gives seven distinct physical types. For centuries

³ The letter reads October, but this is manifestly an error.

wave after wave of foreigners has swept over India, but the invaders have held themselves aloof from the natives. In 1911, 220 vernacular languages were spoken, while not one out of 165 could understand English. Ninety per cent. of the population are either Hindu or Mohammedan, the former outnumbering the latter more than three to one. These two groups regard each other with profound distrust. Destructive riots and bloodshed often result from slight provocation. Mohammedanism, with its uncompromising creed, is the religion of foreign races, which ruled India with cruelty and oppression for nearly five hundred years before the disintegration of the Mogul Empire in the eighteenth century. Hinduism, which has no fixed creed, no church, no external organization, is broken up into innumerable more or less hostile sects. However, its chief characteristic as affecting the social structure of India is the caste system, which in its very nature is intensely anti-democratic. It was devised apparently to prevent the amalgamation of the different elements of the population, which is so essential to nationalism. There are thousands of these self-governing groups. Backed by religious sanction and time-honored customs, the caste, within which one is born, determines his occupation, dress, drink, food, and controls all his important acts from the cradle to the grave. One is not permitted to marry outside his caste. At the top of this social ladder are the Brahmins; at the bottom the "untouchables," numbering 50,000,000 to 60,000,000. Transgression of the rules and usages of the caste is punished by complete social ostracism. Caste has been described as the spirit of India. (Sir T. W. Holderness, "Peoples and Problems of India," Henry Holt.)

At the head of the administration of India, located in England, is the Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the British Cabinet, and who through Parliament is responsible to the British electorate. He prepares, introduces, and defends all bills passed by Parliament for India. He is assisted by the Council of India, consisting of from ten to fourteen persons, nine of whom must have resided at least ten years in India. The members are appointed by the Secretary for a term of seven years. The Secretary is a party leader, but the members of the Council, who supply him with all necessary technical information, are presumably detached from all party affiliations. In practice Parliament confines its power of legislation for India to the enactment of constitutional or organic laws, leaving details to be worked out by authorities residing in India. (Ilbert, "Government of India," third edition, Clarendon Press, 1915, is the best work on the subject.)

In describing the administration of India, a distinction must be kept in mind between British India and the Native States. The Governor-General, or Viceroy, the highest executive official in British India, is appointed for a term of five years by the crown upon recommendation by the British Cabinet. He is assisted by an Executive Council, consisting ordinarily of six members, who are appointed for a term of

five years by the Secretary of State, and who are individually heads of important departments of state. While minor questions are settled in the department, all those of importance must be laid before the Executive Council, and the approval of the majority must be secured before action is taken, although in a few exceptional cases the Governor-General may temporarily overrule that body. The Governor-General and the Executive Council are usually termed the "Government of India."

For the purpose of making laws for India under the authority of Parliament there is a Legislative Council, composed of the Governor-General, members of the Executive Council, and "additional members," making a total of 68. The majority are nominated by the Governor-General to represent various interests and communities. Since the Morley-Minto Reforms in 1909, 27 are elected by communities, councils, and different interests. The Governor-General has the power of veto, and even after his assent has been obtained the Secretary may disallow the act. The members of the Legislative Council may discuss the budget and matters of general public interest, and under certain restrictions may ask questions of the administration and may pass resolutions. While it cannot, like Parliament, change the personnel of the administration, or stop supplies, it does render an important service by voicing public opinion and by giving the administration an opportunity to explain its motives.

India has a unitary, not a federated, government. Full and complete authority rests with the Governor-General and his councils, except in so far as they are controlled from England. For the sake of convenience, however, organs of local government have been created to act as agents of the central authorities. British India is divided into fifteen provinces. Races, creeds, and stages of civilization vary greatly from province to province, and the machinery of government of each has been devised to meet its special needs. The Secretary appoints governors for the three more advanced provinces, while the Governor-General appoints lieutenant-governors for four, and chief administrators for the remaining eight. Four of the provincial executives are assisted by executive councils, and nine by legislative councils. These councils are organized much like those associated with the Governor-General.

The districts, 267 in number, are the administrative units. In each is a "collector" or "deputy-commissioner," responsible to the chief executive of the province. He combines in his person all executive authority in the locality, and is the official who comes directly in contact with the native population. Upon his tact and ability depends the whole fabric of British rule in India. In many portions of India there are village communities, largely self-governing, but resting for the most part upon caste privilege rather than a true democratic basis. Finally there are more than 700 municipalities, in which the whole or the major portion of the local committees or councils consists of natives elected by

natives. They control lighting, water, education, sanitation, and other public utilities.

The civil service for India is well organized and efficient. As long ago as 1904 it was estimated that out of 28,000 posts, only 6,200 were held by Englishmen. Nearly all of the lower ranks of the service are filled by natives, while all but a few of the highest are open to them. Natives are conspicuous in all the central and local councils. The judicial system is based directly upon that of England. A large majority of the judges are natives. In matters of family law, such as testamentary and intestate succession, marriages, etc., the personal law of the natives, either Hindu or Mohemmedan, obtains. A penal code and codes of criminal and civil procedure based upon the English Common Law have been enacted by Parliament, and are used throughout the land. Torts, contracts, and many other branches of the law are almost wholly English.

The scope of governmental activity in India is broader than in this country. Besides preserving peace and order, the government manages large forest reserves, manufactures salt and opium, owns and operates most of the railroads, owns and manages the telephone and telegraph lines, opens mines, constructs roads, bridges, and canals, carries on an extensive system of irrigation, assists agricultural improvements, directs education, loans money to municipalities and to land-owners, affords medical aid, and undertakes on a very large scale relief from famine and plague. (Cf. Report of Indian Constitutional Reforms, London, 1918, Cd. 9109, p. 41.)

The Native States cover more than one-third of the total area of India, and possess nearly one-fourth of its total population. Within these states, which are feudatory to England, the British government exercises complete control of foreign affairs, and assumes responsibility for external defence and the preservation of internal order. Otherwise the native princes, with the assistance and advice of British residents appointed by the British government, rule according to native laws and customs. While a large amount of internal autonomy is allowed, the exact relation between England and the native state is determined in each case by treaties and well recognized usages. The native princes, who as a rule govern the more backward portions of the population, have borrowed liberally from British India in the way of law, legal procedure, and representative councils.

The benefits of British rule in India are great. Peace and order have been established after centuries of oppression, interspersed with long periods of anarchy and war. A more advanced system of law and justice has been established. Education, both in English and in the native languages, has been extended as rapidly as conditions have permitted. Native and Western industries have been developed. The number of miles of railroad is nearly 50 per cent. greater than that of the United Kingdom, and just about equal to that of Canada. The ravages of plague and famine, although still frightful, have been mate-

rially reduced. Even the most severe critics admit that the civil service, whatever its shortcomings may be, is composed of efficient and honest men, actuated by a high sense of duty. The British government has acted as an arbiter between the clashing interests of native groups, has protected the weak against the strong, the tenant against the landlord. There is no doubt that the great mass of the native peoples appreciate these benefits and accept British rule as a guarantee against worse forms, either native or foreign. Still in recent years there have been many factors which may well disturb the minds of British officials.

Acting upon the urgent advice of Macaulay, nearly three-quarters of a century ago, the government has been developing a system of education in English based upon English models. Universities, colleges, and other higher schools of learning have been established in many portions of India. A generation of natives has been brought up deeply imbued with the Western ideals of liberty and democracy. These scholars to-day fill the ranks of the learned professions. Through hundreds of newspapers and magazines, both in the English and in the vernacular languages, they have voiced their hopes and aspirations for the future of India.

In the period of reconstruction following the Mutiny of 1857, an attempt was made to associate with the governmental authorities the leaders of native public opinion. Non-official members were added to the central and provincial legislative councils. In the "eighties," the Indian National Congress, a non-official body, was created, composed of rather vaguely chosen Western-educated native delegates from all portions of India. The purpose was to afford an opportunity for native leaders to voice their grievances and to assist in the work of social reform. However, from the first the Congress emphasized political action rather than social reforms, upon which they seemed hopelessly divided. They urged the immediate adoption of far-reaching measures of self-government, apparently oblivious of the difficulties to be overcome in a country like India. Acrid criticism, rather than constructive suggestions, too often characterized their annual meetings. On the other hand, the English officials were too much inclined to distrust their motives and purposes. There was a sad lack of mutual sympathy. As a result, during the opening decade of the present century, the extremists, soliciting the aid of the more inflammable material in the larger towns and cities, started a bitter propaganda against British rule and against Western civilization generally. Disastrous riots, bloodshed, and assassinations occurred.

The Liberal statesman, John Morley, as Secretary of State for India, while lending his assistance to the suppression of the disturbances, fully recognized that there was great need of political reform. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 added elected members to the legislative councils, and materially widened the scope of those bodies. But the result was far from satisfactory. The elected members have in

all cases been in a minority; they have often believed that their opinions were slighted, and that the reforms themselves were only a half-hearted concession obtained under duress. Violent agitation was continued.

Almost from the first the Indian National Congress has been an organ of the Hindus. The Mohammedans, as a minority, preferred to entrust their interests to the British government. But the concessions made to the Congress at length led the Moslems to believe that the Hindus through united action were obtaining a dangerous preponderance in the affairs of the country. In 1906 they organized the All Moslem League to defend their class interests.

The Great War occasioned in India a great outburst of enthusiasm for the British Empire and the cause of the Allies. India raised more than one million volunteers. Hundreds of thousands proved their worth on all the battle fronts. But the war also served to arouse the hopes and aspirations for a far greater adoption in India of those ideals of self-government and democracy which the Allies hold to be the ultimate aims of this tremendous struggle. But it is significant that the movement took the form, not of a demand for complete independence, but for Home Rule, for a position in the British Empire like that held by the self-governing colonies of Canada and Australia.

After an unfortunately long delay occasioned by the exigencies of the Great War, Mr. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, decided to advocate a series of far-reaching reforms, which if adopted will profoundly change the government of India and its position in the British Empire. On August 20, 1917, Secretary Montagu announced in the House of Commons that it was the definite policy of the government to secure "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." He went at once to India, where, with the Viceroy and others, he traveled through the provinces for the purpose of hearing suggestions and criticisms from various native interests. Memorials in vast numbers were presented. Most of them strongly approved of a greater degree of self-government, but many addressed by non-Brahmins and by Mohammedans opposed the plan for fear that the Brahmins would control. Opposition was also encountered from certain groups of native landowners.

On July 4, 1918, an elaborate report signed by the Secretary and the Viceroy was laid before Parliament. It strongly urges the adoption of a "responsible" form of government, one in which those who advocate a policy may have an opportunity to apply it, while being held accountable to the electorate. Many vital changes are proposed, but space will permit the mention of only a few of the more important. There should be a gradual relaxation of the present

control by Parliament and the Secretary of State. More natives should be added to the Governor-General's Executive Council. The Legislative Assembly of India, which should take the place of the present Legislative Council, should have two-thirds of its membership elected on as broad a franchise as possible, and should be given greatly increased powers. "There should be, as far as possible, complete control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." (Report of Indian Constitutional Reforms, cited above.)

But it is in the provinces that the authors of the report hope to accomplish most in the immediate future. The elected members of the legislative councils should have a substantial working majority. The franchise, which should be as broad as possible, should provide for the representation of minorities. The subjects of provincial administration, which should be considerably increased, should be grouped under two heads, "reserved" and "transferred." The governor in handling "reserved subjects" must obtain the consent of an Executive Council, consisting of two persons named by himself. One must be a native. In handling "transferred subjects," he must obtain the consent of a "ministry," named by himself from the elected members of the legislative council, who shall hold their offices only for the life of that body. At regular intervals the list of "transferred subjects" should be increased until full responsible government is obtained.

The report, which covers 300 pages of closely-printed matter, concludes: "Our conception of the eventful future of India is a sisterhood of states, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of the people. Over this congeries of states would preside a central government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in interstate relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire."

The proposed plan has met with hearty approval both in India and in England. We may reasonably assume that important modifications will be made, but there is no question that some plan embodying the underlying principles of the report will be finally adopted. When we recall that 94 per cent. of the population of India are illiterate, that only one out of 165 understand English, which under present conditions, it would seem, must remain the official language, that there are clashing religious and social interests throughout the country, the contemplated reform will stand as one of the most notable advances toward that condition of world-wide democracy for which the Allied nations shed their blood.

Some Reflections on Classical History and Its Trend in America¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANK FROST ABBOTT, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

With its meeting to-night this Association enters upon its fiftieth year. We may well pause for a moment to look back through the half century which is past, and forward into the future. It is not my purpose, however, to attempt any survey of the history of the Association, to assess the value of its achievements, or to outline its policy for the future. That shall be left for another occasion and for other hands. To-night I plan to speak of the development in the past and the prospects in the future of only one of the branches of study which it has fostered.

This Association, as its first constitution announced, was founded "for the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge." It included in its number scholars of many different interests, but group after group of them has left us to form organizations of their own. It could not have been otherwise, and we are proud of the fact that the history of our Association is to be read not simply in the annual volumes of its proceedings and transactions, but also in the records of the Modern Language Association and of the Oriental Society.

Within the last few years another great subject has developed among us, and we may well ask whether its growth may be best furthered within our Association or not.

That is the point to which I ask your attention to-night. I am thinking of the rapid growth in recent years of an interest in this country in classical history, both within and without the limits of this Association. How may we best promote its growth? What lines of development is it following? Is the history of Greece and Rome so closely related to classical study, that each will languish if severed from the other? Or is the vigorous and healthy growth of ancient history dependent upon cutting the bonds which have held us together in the past, as seemed to be true of our relations to modern language study some thirty-five years ago and to the study of the Oriental languages somewhat later? Finally, what would be the effect upon classical studies in our schools and colleges if ancient history is separated from them? These are questions which concern deeply the study and the teaching of subjects which we have much at heart, and they call for a serious answer.

We can best attempt an answer to them by inquiring first what our conception of classical philology is, to discover whether ancient history may find a place

naturally within its field of study, for it is to classical philology that we have been led in the course of the last fifty years to limit our attention.

It is interesting and not without value in this discussion to turn aside for a moment from the practical question which I have just raised, and to ask ourselves whether the complex of subjects which we know as classical philology is a science or not. The various groupings which have been given to these subjects by classical scholars may well excite doubt on this point. The different schemes of classification which have been adopted, for instance, by Bernhardt, Boeckh, Ritsche and Iwan Müller, seem to show that the fields of study in which the classical student is interested are somewhat loosely related to one another, and may well lead us to wonder whether they constitute a unit or not, and whether consequently classical philology is a science or not. So far as I know, no such uncertainty is to be found among the students of mathematics, for instance, concerning the relation which the different branches of their subject bear to one another. This diversity of opinion which prevails among classical scholars may seem to justify the view which was expressed by Bonnet some twenty years ago that there is no natural affinity between the several branches of classical philology, but that we have included them in the range of our studies because one of them is necessary in reconstructing the life of antiquity.

As I have just said, it would be interesting to discuss this subject at greater length, but its settlement is not essential to our immediate purpose, and would carry us too far away from that object. To raise this point does, however, suggest a question which is vital to our discussion. What disciplines are properly included in the science of classical philology, or, if you prefer, in the complex of subjects which it is essential for the classical scholar to study and teach? Two theories on this matter have had more or less vogue. Down to the time of F. A. Wolf, from whose matriculation at Göttingen as *philologiae studiosus* we traditionally date the recognition of classical philology as a separate subject of study, no serious attempt had been made to define its purpose and scope. Wolf clearly enunciated the doctrine that the aim of the classical student was to acquire a complete knowledge of all phases of Greek and Roman life, and to use that knowledge in interpreting the literary remains of the Greeks and Romans. Within Wolf's own lifetime Niebuhr illustrated in his career this broad conception of the scope of classical studies in a way which is peculiarly pertinent to the subject in which we are interested this evening. He not only

¹ Annual address of the President of the American Philological Association, delivered at a joint meeting of the Association and of the Archaeological Institute of America, in New York, December 26, 1918.

brought out editions of Fronto and of fragments of certain orations of Cicero, but in his history of Rome he sketched in the background for the study of those writers. With him the critical study of history begins, and its beginnings have a peculiarly intimate connection with classical philology, because Niebuhr's famous theory of the origin of the early history of Rome grew out of his study of the Odyssey in his early boyhood.

Only once since Wolf's day has any attempt been made to reduce the range of classical studies within narrower limits than those outlined by Wolf and exemplified by Niebuhr. Gottfried Hermann in the early part of the last century tried to restrict the classicist to a narrow study of the language and the literature. In spite of his profound scholarship, his engaging style, and his skill as a teacher, his efforts failed. Many generations of classical scholars have taught and have illustrated in their writings the theory that it is the duty of the classical philologist to reconstruct Greek and Roman life and to interpret it to the modern world. They believe that the spirit of the Greeks and Romans and their ideals are best set forth in their literature, but that a larger duty devolved upon the classical student than mere æsthetic and grammatical exposition and criticism, however valuable they may be in themselves. The classical scholar of to-day accepts this broad interpretation of his mission which I have just outlined. A mere glance at bibliographies like those in the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica*, the *Revue de Philologie*, or the *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, discloses this fact, because it shows that the interests of the classicist range all the way from grammar to geography. Parenthetically it may be noted also that the expansion is not merely horizontal, so as to cover all the phases of Greek and Roman life during the flourishing days of those civilizations, but that it is perpendicular also, carrying us back into the beginnings of Mediterranean civilization and downward through the medium of vulgar Latin and the survival of classical culture, to establish, at last, a close connection between the institutions of the ancient and of the modern world. Having once accepted the comprehensive mission of reconstructing and interpreting the ancient world this expansion was logical and inevitable. We should have been recreant to the cause in which we have enlisted in not using to the best of our powers the great mass of material which epigraphy, papyrology, and archæology, for instance, have put at our disposal in recent years.

But there is another aspect of the matter which deserves our attention. Not only is some acquaintance with a wide range of subjects a necessary part of the equipment of the classical philologist, even in reading his authors, but a classical training is indispensable in pursuing those specific subjects which are not essentially grammatical or critical. To take an illustration which is pertinent to our main topic, the historian of Greece or Rome must not only read the writings of antiquity, but he must have an intimate

acquaintance with Greek and Latin inscriptions, with all their difficulties in the way of technique and dialect, with archæology and with the many other subjects which will throw light on the political, social, and industrial life of antiquity.

We have seen that many strong links of different sorts bind the study of ancient history and classical philology closely to each other. In its beginnings under Niebuhr ancient history is an outgrowth of classical study. It has been closely related to philology ever since Niebuhr's time, and some acquaintance with it is essential to the classical student in carrying out his accepted purpose of portraying the life of antiquity, while to the student of ancient history a thorough knowledge of many fields of classical study is indispensable. This last point should be borne in mind in estimating the soundness of a position which is often taken for granted. Many people may be inclined to reason that ancient history is a cross-section in the life of the human race, so to speak, and that therefore it should go with modern history. It is quite true that the histories of Greece and Rome which the scholar builds up from the material available to us form an integral part of the story of man, but it does not follow from that fact, as is often tacitly taken for granted, that research in the field of classical history and the teaching of the subject may not best be carried on by the classical student. The student of modern history does not need that peculiar technical training, which, as I tried to show a few minutes ago, is indispensable to the man who devotes himself to classical history. With the unthinking this analogical argument which I am combatting takes the crude form that ancient history is history, and, therefore, it belongs in the department of history. With our fondness in this country for schematic classification, I am sorry to say that college faculties have sometimes seemed to base their arrangements on similarity in names rather than on a sound scientific and educational distinctions. They are actuated in a minor degree by the same high regard for consistent nomenclature which led a stranger from a distant college who called on me several years ago to print on his visiting card, "Professor of Ancient and Natural History."

Two objections may be urged against the close association of ancient history and classical philology, and they are both serious. The first one is that the ancient historian needs a careful training in historical methods, as well as a reasonable acquaintance with the histories of other periods. This point cannot be too strongly urged. It is true that even in his grammatical and philological studies the classicist has introduced the historical method, and is familiar with its use, but this is not enough. He should be trained in that method in the particular field in which he intends to work. My contention, however, is that the heavier part of his preparation must be in the field of classical study. If this fact is recognized, with the consequence to be drawn from it, it does not matter so much whether in college catalogues his name stands under the rubric "History" or "Classics."

A more serious objection to the retention of ancient history under the ægis of classical philology may lie in the fear that the classical student may write and teach the histories of Greece and Rome mainly with a view to the better interpretation of the Greek and Latin authors. This was true, I think, of the teaching of ancient history for many years. It was taught merely as a subsidiary or illustrative subject. For a long time classical departments in our colleges took a stepmotherly attitude toward it. If I may be permitted to illustrate this point out of my own experience, I remember that twenty-five or thirty years ago, when I gave my first graduate course in Roman history it seemed desirable to conceal the title under a philological misnomer. But we have outgrown that period entirely. Ancient history is coming into its rights. It is ceasing to be the handmaid of classical philology, and it is taking an independent position, as I hope to show clearly in a few minutes, when I come to say a few words about the progress of studies in classical history in this country.

There is another aspect of this question of the relation in the future of historical to philological study which intimately concerns this Association, which concerns all classical scholars and teachers throughout the country. As the study of the modern languages and of the Oriental languages, as well as our own subject, grew in complexity and variety, it was proper and inevitable that those who were working in these two fields should establish organizations of their own. By that action our field was limited in its extent, but was still left as a unit, complete in itself. But by the formal separation of Greek and Roman history from classical philology, even though the results of historical study are accessible to us, the field of our particular interests will be dangerously narrowed, and the future of the humanities will be gravely imperilled. Our teaching of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Livy and Tacitus will lose much of its vitality. But the danger of such a separation as I have mentioned is much more insidious and far-reaching than would appear from considering its effects in the case of particular classical authors. The severance of studies in political, social, and industrial history from philology is likely to obliterate or obscure our historical sense and to destroy our perspective, and the effects of it will show themselves in the character of our investigations and teaching in all the different branches of our subject. Almost within our own lifetime the historical method has come to prevail in classical philology, even in such peculiarly philological subjects as syntax, to the great advantage of our whole field of study. Its growth has been coincident with, if not partly attributable to, the increased interest in political history. To have this stimulus die out would indeed be a calamity. From the point of view of ancient history, one may look also with some anxiety at its possible detachment from classical philology. The peculiar equipment which it requires, as I have tried to show, differentiates it from the histories of other periods. It can

rest securely only on a sound and thorough classical training, and its formal separation from classical studies is likely to weaken the foundation on which it stands.

As the modern study of ancient history grew under Niebuhr out of classical philology, so in this country investigations in this field were first carried on by classical scholars, and the results of their study were first made known at the meetings and in the transactions of this Association. The first historical paper of which I find any record in our annual volumes was contributed by Prof. W. F. Allen, and appeared in the year 1880. The close connection which these early excursions into the historical field had with classical study is shown by the fact that several of the early papers take a passage in a classical author as their starting-point, or they draw certain conclusions concerning the life and times of some Greek or Latin writer. However, with Professor Allen's discussion before this Association in 1887 of "The Monetary Crisis in Rome, A.D. 33" a historical subject is treated for its own sake.

If the time at our disposal would permit it, I should like to say something of the growth of classical history in America out of its beginnings at the meetings of this Association. I should like to point out the stimulus which it received from the establishment of philological and historical periodicals in this country. We should find recognition of our progress in the welcome given to articles by American scholars on Greek and Roman history in journals across the water. It would be pleasant to call attention to the significance of some of the contributions which these scholars have made to our knowledge of the subject. We could with advantage trace the development of graduate study in classical history, and the rapid increase in the number of doctoral dissertations which American universities are sending out. A complete survey would take into account also the improvement of elementary textbooks and the improvement in the teaching of ancient history in our schools.

But to follow the development of the subject in this country would require an entire paper for adequate treatment, and I am anxious to say a few words before closing about the lines which this development has followed. The trend in the study of the histories of Greece and Rome corresponds in a remarkable way with the tendencies in the material world and in the world of ideas. As in all other fields of human endeavor, there is a feverish eagerness to break through the line which separates the known from the unknown. To do this calls for the concentration of energy at a given small point of attack, with the result that high specialization on the part of historical scholars has come in, some of them limiting themselves, for instance, to chronology, and others specializing in economic questions. This is not the place to discuss the good effects and the bad effects of this tendency. We are concerned here only with its existence.

A movement, however, which is of more immediate

interest is the movement to articulate the history of Greece and Rome during their flourishing periods with earlier and later times, and to bring their civilizations into relation with the civilizations of other peoples. Three or four different factors seem to have been largely responsible for this development. For many years students of Greek and Roman history had been accustomed to treat of the lives of these two peoples as if they were episodes unrelated to the experiences of peoples of earlier and later times. This conception took a concrete form in the practice of beginning Greek history and Roman history at certain accepted chronological points and of bringing them to an end respectively with the conquests or the death of Alexander and the "Fall of Rome." These limits were within the compass of one man's strength; they were convenient to the book-maker; and adapted themselves to the school and college term. But we have fortunately broken away from these conventions. Edouard Meyer, for instance, has shown us that the early development of Rome is not to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, but must be brought into close relation with the experiences of other peoples in the Italian peninsula, while Pais has shown its connection with events in Sicily and southern Italy and with the Greek colonies in those regions. These are only illustrations of the general belief that we cannot break up the story of ancient civilization into the detached units of Egyptian, Oriental, Greek, and Roman history, just as in natural science it is no longer possible to draw sharp lines of demarcation between chemistry and physics, or between chemistry and biology.

This broadening of our conception of the histories of Greece and Rome in particular is due in no small measure to the discovery of a great mass of new material for both the early and the late periods. I have in mind, of course, the results of the excavations at Crete and in the other Aegean islands, the finds of papyri and ostraca in Egypt, and the publication of Greek and Latin inscriptions in a systematic and convenient form. The discoveries in Crete have brought the Aegean islands, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece into close relations with one another and opened up the vista of Mediterranean civilization.

Just as the discoveries in the Aegean islands have pushed back our knowledge of Mediterranean civilization into the early period, so the finds of papyri and ostraca have led to a recasting of the political, social and industrial history of the Hellenistic period in which one of our own number has taken a distinguished part.

The publication of Greek and Latin inscriptions in an accurate, systematic and convenient form has not only served to enrich our knowledge of all phases of Greek and Roman life, but it has given a stimulus to the independent study of the several regional sections of the ancient world. This is notably true of the Latin inscriptions. The editors of the *Latin Corpus* took a Roman province as a unit, and this conception has been accepted by epigraphists and historians, and has led to the reconstruction in whole or

in part of the history of a large number of the Roman provinces. The old convention that the ancient world came to an end with the "Fall of Rome" could have no place here, and many of these provincial histories have extended their surveys into the late period. Sometimes in these investigations national pride may have been a secondary motive, as in Lavissee's great *Histoire de France* or in Gsell's *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*.

I have been speaking very briefly of the new tendencies which the study of classical history shows in consequence of the discovery of new material, because of the publication in accessible form of material previously known, and on account of our broadened conception of the relations of the peoples of antiquity. In the interpretation of Greek and Roman life a still more profound change has come about in recent times. Speaking roughly, up to the seventies in the last century liberalism in politics and the doctrine of *laissez faire* were in the ascendant. These ideas affected the interpretation of ancient history. They perhaps led historians to take a sympathetic attitude toward democracy and democratic movements, and deadened the interest to some extent in autocracies and aristocracies. But in the seventies and in the decade immediately following, nationalism, imperialism and commercial rivalry between different peoples come to the front. This is the period which saw the unification of Germany and Italy, and the beginning of Germany's industrial development. In England, Lord Beaconsfield brings forward his imperial policy. On this side of the ocean the East and the Far West are linked together by railways; Canada is consolidated and developed. In Asia, Japan awakes from her age-long sleep, and the partition of Africa among the Great Powers begins. This strong drift toward consolidation, expansion, and industrial growth is reflected in the works of the ancient historian from this time on.

Perhaps we can see the new era foreshadowed even earlier in Mommsen's attitude toward Caesarism in his history of Rome, which appeared in 1856, very soon after the collapse of the democratic movement on the continent. Of this work one of Mommsen's admirers said twenty years ago: "All idealists are treated in it with bitter scorn; and again and again the doctrine is laid down that only he who knows how to estimate and use material power, may count on success as a statesman." At all events the new point of view is clearly noticeable in Beloch's *Attische Politik* in 1884. The new school sympathizes with the absorption of the small state into the great one, the maintenance of law and order at all hazards, the formation of a strong centralized government, and the subordination of the individual to the state, and its sympathies find expression not only in the reinterpretation of political incidents in classical history and a new evaluation of the leaders who took part in them, but also in a heightened interest in such topics as the conquests of Alexander and the government of the Roman provinces. In 1911, Beloch opened his narrative of Greek history in the period subsequent to

Alexander with the statement: "Die Kleinstaaterei war der Fluch der griechischen Nation," and two years later the tendency of the new school was explicitly revealed by Wendland, who, as quoted by a recent writer, in speaking of the struggle between Athens and Macedonia, remarks: "One should strongly emphasize the superior merits of a thorough system of monarchical government and of military discipline."

This admiration for material power and this belief in territorial expansion, of which I have just spoken, have led to the writing of innumerable treatises on the organization of the Roman army, and monographs on campaigns and battles. When one looks over the bibliography of ancient history for the last fifteen years, and sees the portentous list of publications in these fields one feels that the clouds of this great war were casting their shadows in advance. It may be taken as an interesting omen of the times, though only by way of coincidence, that the two most important contributions which we have had to Roman history since the war began were the story of the Punic Wars in the great histories of de Sanctis and Gsell. A survey of the bibliography of classical history for recent years reveals another interesting tendency—I mean the extraordinary attention given to Roman history as compared with Greek. Perhaps the wider range of Roman history and its more obvious connection with our own times explain this state of things in part, but I believe that the true explanation is to be found in the fact that the story of Rome is the story of imperialism *par excellence* in antiquity.

Closely related in modern times to imperialism is industrial organization and trade rivalry. Interest in these subjects, too, begins to find expression in the writings on ancient history soon after the seventies. We may date its appearance perhaps from the publication of Pöhlmann's brilliant monograph in 1884 on over-population in the great cities of antiquity, followed a few years later by the history of communism and socialism in the ancient world. Since that date the economic interpretation of classical history had had considerable vogue across the water, and the number of articles on economic subjects has been very large. This natural tendency of the times has, of course, been much reinforced by the publication in recent years of large numbers of papyri which throw light on economic conditions in the past.

If we compare the trend of research in classical history in America with that in the countries across the ocean, we notice certain points of difference and certain similarities. Some investigations we cannot pursue to advantage in this country. This is true, for instance, of studies which require an intimate acquaintance with the existing remains of antiquity and with topography and ethnology. However, the classical schools at Athens and Rome have done a great deal to open even these fields to a certain number of students, and have given rise to many interesting papers on social and industrial conditions in Greece and Rome.

If we look at the fields open to us, we find the pre-occupation of historical students on the other side with the material development of Greece and Rome has been reflected here by able studies of Greek and Roman imperialism, by monographs and articles on the organization of the Roman army, on colonization, provincial government, and kindred subjects, but American interest has been more catholic than European, if we may draw an inference from the titles of theses and of historical articles in our periodicals. Purely political, constitutional, administrative, and religious questions still engage a large part of our attention. A list, published this year, of seventeen doctoral dissertations in course of preparation by American students of Greek and Roman history contains seven on social conditions, six on constitutional, legal, and political questions, two on religious, and two on economic subjects. The comparatively small number of dissertations on economic subjects which we notice here is in harmony with the fact that the purely economic interpretation of classical history is in less vogue here than it is abroad.

With the exhaustion which the war has brought upon Europe, the responsibility for keeping before the world the significance of the Greek and Roman civilizations and their meaning for our own times, will rest more heavily upon America in the future than it has rested in the past, and it is a fortunate thing that the interest which America has shown in the subject is catholic, and that her methods of interpretation are broad. These two facts ought to insure advance, so far as our powers allow it, through the entire field and in the right direction. The last four years have not only exhausted the resources of one country after another, but they have left us face-to-face with a situation in the world of scholarship and education which it is our duty to bring back into harmony with the permanent needs of the country. For almost two years America has bent all her energies to winning the war. Activities which did not contribute directly to the early attainment of that end have had scant consideration. Our pressing need was bombs, shrapnel, and asphyxiating gases, and men who could shoot, dig trenches, and pilot aeroplanes. It was right and proper to turn our colleges into military camps and into schools for technical training, and classical scholars and teachers all over the country, like other citizens, have given themselves up wholeheartedly to work for the common cause. But now with the return of normal conditions near at hand the pursuits and the studies on which we have centred all our attention for the last two years must drop back into their proper place and the humanities must resume the position which they held before the war, the place in which they belong in any sound and enduring system of education, and upon each one of us rests the responsibility of seeing to it that liberal studies come into their own again.

It is on account of this situation especially that I have ventured to-night to direct your attention to this particular side of classical philology, I mean to the history of Greece and Rome, because I believe that a

renaissance of classical studies after the war will go far to save us from sinking again into the slough of materialism, and also because a study of the histories of Greece and Rome is of peculiar pertinence at the present time. In the solution of the great problems with which the close of this war has brought us face-to-face, we need the help which may be had from the experience of other peoples, and in no direction may we turn with as much confidence for that help as to these two great nations of antiquity. The qualities of one of these two peoples complement those of the other, and it would be hard to say whether the life-story of the Greeks or of the Romans will help us more in settling the questions which confront us now at the conclusion of the war. We have been fighting to uphold the rights of the individual against an autocratic state. We have been fighting to protect the small state against the encroachments of the great one, and these political and social ideals we have learned from Greece. The struggle has been a battle between the world of sense and the world of spirit, and it is only with the clear, steady eyes of the Greek that we can see through the mists and clouds which envelop us now to the sky above. It is only when we make the world understand with them what things are worth while, that civilization will turn its face toward the light. But when we have set before ourselves the ends best worth aiming at, we need the common sense of the Roman in organizing society for the achievement of those objects. As we read the Latin authors and the inscriptions, we come upon one after another of the political and social questions which face us to-day, and we see the method which the Roman tried in solving them. Whether those questions arise out of conditions peculiar to an oligarchy, a democracy, or an autocracy, we shall find them cropping up under the Roman empire. With a history covering more than a thousand years and embracing the experiences of many different races and religions, with social conditions ranging from the simplest to the most complex, with a political system running through the entire gamut from autocracy back to autocracy again, Rome was called on to meet almost every conceivable political and social situation. She attacked social questions like those of divorce, race suicide, and the best method of fostering the arts. She tried to keep down the high cost of living, to reduce an inflated currency, to introduce governmental supervision and control of industries, and to adopt an equitable system of taxation. In the field of politics she was confronted by a decline in popular government, by the evils which attend the establishment of bureaus and commissions, by municipal misgovernment, and by the difficulties involved in the government of alien peoples. A catalogue of the social, economic and political difficulties which she tried to solve reads like a list of the questions which lie before us to-day, and there can be no wiser way of attacking these questions than by avoiding her mistakes and profiting by her successes in solving them. To these problems she applied herself with a fine disregard for consistency,

but with an eye single to practical results, meeting all radical proposals with a stubborn opposition to change which permitted her progress, but maintained her stability and her vital connection with the past.

Nowhere else can we find so well exemplified the ideals toward which the individual should strive, as in the story of the Greek, and nowhere else are the methods of social organization so fully illustrated as in that of the Roman. How fatuous for the modern world not to take the fullest advantage of their rich and varied experience in the difficult times which are before us! From the life of these two peoples we have much to learn that will be of inestimable value to America and the world in reconstructing civilization out of the chaos of to-day, and it is for us, as students of antiquity, to interpret the lessons drawn from that history.

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The British Empire and What It Stands For

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE F. ZOOK, PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE.

Sometimes the Scotch boast that in all the long years of strife between England and Scotland they were never really conquered, but that in 1603 they gave England a king. On such occasions they refer to the time when Queen Elizabeth died and was succeeded by James I, who was already King of Scotland. A century later this personal union was made more effective by the union of the English and Scotch Parliaments. Since that time the united kingdoms have been known as Great Britain, and the flag popularly known as the Union Jack has been the symbol of it. In 1801, the Irish Parliament was also joined with the British Parliament, so that at the present time it is proper to speak of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Strange as it now sometimes seems in the light of present-day world events, it was Great Britain from which the thirteen American colonies revolted in 1776 and in the Revolutionary War won their independence. In those days, however, the power of the British king was still very strong. The members of the House of Commons were selected by a very small body of electors, while both the King and Parliament were often dominated by the aristocrats of the House of Lords. In the hands of such men as these the parliamentary supremacy fought for in the days of the Puritan Revolution had become a mockery and a delusion. Such a government could have little knowledge and less sympathy with the problems of the American colonists, and therefore there remained no choice but separation from the mother country.

When one compares the present British government with that of a century and a half ago, it is easy to see that a marvelous revolution has taken place. Such a revolution has indeed occurred, and it is to the everlasting credit of Great Britain that it has been as bloodless as it has been complete. The transformation from aristocracy to democracy has been made gradually as it seemed to be demanded by the people themselves, without those epochs of revolutionary violence which have been necessary in the history of almost every other nation in its progress toward liberty and democratic government.

The absence of these periods of violence in the history of Great Britain may account in no small degree for the failure on the part of many people to appreciate the complete transformation which has come over the character of the British government during the last century. For that reason it may not be amiss to mention briefly a few of the prominent changes which have been made. In the first place, there have been four great parliamentary reform bills in British history, 1832, 1867, 1885 and 1918, at which times the election districts for the House of Commons have been more nearly equalized and the suffrage extended to a larger and larger number of people. Before the

first of these reform bills was passed not more than one person out of every twenty-four enjoyed the right to vote. In the recent act of January, 1918, the suffrage was extended to practically all men over the age of twenty-one and to women over the age of thirty, so that in the election held in December, 1918, one person out of every three in Great Britain was allowed to vote. The persons thus elected to the House of Commons select their leaders, the chief one of whom is known as the Prime Minister. At present this is David Lloyd George, the son of a Welsh schoolmaster. He is the real leader of the British nation; the king, like the British flag, being only a symbol of the nation. No ministry can remain in office once it fails to command a majority of votes in the House of Commons. Upon such occasions a new election is held immediately to enable the people to determine what the policy of the government shall be. In any case, a new election must be held once in every five years, except in crises such as the Great War, when the election was put off for several years.

It is natural that a House of Commons made up of members selected in this popular manner should have exerted itself to pass democratic measures during the last century. It is impossible to mention more than a few of these laws, such as the extension of education; the financial assistance rendered to the Irish peasants to buy their land; and the acts providing old age pensions and insurance against sickness and accidents. In addition to these are the innumerable statutes passed from time to time providing shorter hours of work under conditions that safeguard the health and morals of the millions who work in Britain's factories, shops and mines. In many of these instances, Great Britain has taken steps far in advance of anything that has been done in any other country in the world, including the United States.

For many years the British Empire, just as the United States, endeavored to avoid entangling alliances with other nations. As long as Great Britain's interests did not appear to be jeopardized this policy of "Splendid Isolation," as it was once derisively called, seemed to be justified. When, however, in the course of the Boer War, Great Britain realized that more than one nation, including Germany, was ready to take advantage of any sign of weakness on her part, it was natural that some change in her foreign policy should be determined upon. For this reason she consented to make an alliance with Japan which has subsisted to the present day. Shortly after that, the steps taken by the former Kaiser to build up a powerful navy and to extend his empire in Asia Minor and Africa, caused France and Great Britain, in 1904, to come to a good understanding, which has been referred to as the "Entente." The obligations assumed upon this occasion seem to have been largely

of an oral nature, and it is said that not even the French themselves knew, in August, 1914, that Great Britain would cast in her lot with the valiant French army. Great Britain's sense of justice was so aroused at the ravaging of innocent Belgium, however, and at the imminent peril to the democracy of the world, should the Kaiser win, that in that dark hour of the world's history she decided not to shirk her responsibilities. Knowing, therefore, that her army was entirely unprepared and that thousands, perhaps millions, of her young men would never return from the war's awful maelstrom, she threw all of her energy into the battle against the invader.

At the time war was declared against Germany on August 4, 1914, the regular army of Great Britain consisted of about 450,000 soldiers, many of whom were in the outlying British possessions. Besides these, there were 250,000 "territorials," a force much like our former National Guard. Lord Kitchener at once called for 100,000 volunteers and got them within two weeks. From that time on the number of volunteers increased enormously. In the fifth week alone, 250,000 young men came forward and offered their services to the country. By September 30, 1914, one million men had volunteered. One year later, the number was 4,750,000, which is by far the largest volunteer army ever raised in the history of the world. Notwithstanding this immense number of men in the army, it was deemed necessary to call every available man into the service, and therefore Parliament passed the National Registration act in July, 1915. Those who were not called into active service were registered so as to be available for any work which might be serviceable to the country. By this means the number of men in the British army and navy was, according to Premier Lloyd George, increased to about 6,250,000 before the close of the war. If the United States had raised a similar proportion of its total population for military purposes, we should have had a stupendous army and navy numbering 15,000,000 men.

Of the vast army raised by Great Britain, many thousands served on the battle-fronts of Mesopotamia, Palestine, Italy, Salonica and East Africa. By far the greatest number, however, helped to fight the battles of the French and the Belgians on the Western front. From the time Kitchener's "contemptible little army" of 125,000 men, as the former German Emperor derisively called it, was overwhelmed at Mons in August, 1914, through more than four years of bitter struggle, the ever-growing British army faced the boastful Germans. From the early days when each soldier had only so many cartridges doled out to him, Britain's army lived to see the day when, accompanied by airplanes, tanks, huge guns, and all the other paraphernalia of war, it helped to drive the Germans from French territory; and at last, on November 11, 1918, as was befitting, it rested on its arms on the glorious battlefield of Mons with the Germans begging for peace.

Lest one should forget to count the cost of the glorious victory won by the United States and the

Allies one should remember that next to France, Great Britain suffered most. More than two million British soldiers were wounded in battle, and 658,655 others will never return, having paid the supreme price. But the spirit of Great Britain rests on her dead as well as her living, and the whole world knows that they did not die in vain. Moreover, it was not only British men who sacrificed; for British women stepped cheerfully forth into the mills and munition factories to replace their husbands and sons who had gone to the front. In January, 1918, there were 1,442,000 women who had taken the place of men in the British Isles. "We promised the boys that we would deliver the goods—and they shall be delivered," was the spirit in which they went to work. The democracy of the world, therefore, owes its safeguarding not only to those who fought valiantly in the war, but also to those who toiled ceaselessly at home in order to supply coal, clothing, munitions and ships.

In addition to the enormous number who labored in mills and factories, thousands of war workers also helped to plow up the pastures of England in order to plant staple crops for a supply of food. In 1918 two million acres more land, an increase of 33 per cent., was under cultivation in England alone than in 1916. Add to this 1,800,000 acres increase in Scotland and Ireland, and one gets almost four million additional acres under cultivation. This is such a striking increase in cultivation that one may well assume that Great Britain has not been so nearly self-supporting in agricultural products for many years.

These are only a few of the things accomplished by Great Britain in the war against German autocracy. Literally it would have been impossible to do any of them had it not been for the British fleet. Not a soldier could have been transported across the English Channel to the battlefields of France, not to speak of Palestine, Salonica and Mesopotamia, if Great Britain had not controlled the seas. Indeed, without Britain's superior sea power the rest of the world, helpless and impotent, including the United States, would have been compelled to look on while Germany speedily crushed France to the ground. But happily the British navy, through storm and tempest, winter and summer, safeguarded the transportation of more than thirteen million troops to and from England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and India. It was the British navy which protected the freedom of the seas against the attacks of German submarine pirates on neutral vessels. It was the British who placed their merchant vessels at our disposal and transported almost one-half of the American army to France. Indeed, America can have nothing but gratitude for the assistance rendered to our country by the British navy during the perilous four years of the war. Moreover, it should be remembered that Great Britain possesses colonies and dependencies on which the sun never sets. Then, too, in 1914, she had to guard her fleet of merchant vessels, almost 20,000,000 tons, which was larger than the merchant tonnage of all the rest of Europe put together.

If Great Britain's enormous navy and merchant marine had been used in times of peace to prevent others from trading freely to her ports and to British possessions, the rest of the world might reasonably have complained of this tyranny. As is perfectly well known, however, the ports of Great Britain and her colonies are open to the rest of the world with less discrimination and upon a lower basis of tariff duties than is true of any other great nation. Such is Great Britain's important contribution to the freedom of the seas.

Thus far it might well be assumed that to those little British Isles in the North Sea belonged all the credit for Britain's marvelous performance of the last four years. To do so would be far from true; indeed, it would be great injustice to the dependencies and colonial commonwealths that all go to make up the British Empire. Great Britain is the mother of colonies, many of which are so large and important that they are now by common consent regarded as on a parity with the great majority of sovereign states over the world. Such a proud position they have attained largely because the mother country has been wise enough to allow them almost complete self-government. They are in fact in all but name independent nations, yet intensely loyal to the mother country and the empire.

At first thought such a position seems difficult for the average American to understand. Did we not once, after a long and bitter struggle, cast off the rule of the mother country never more to return? How, then, can it be that others have been content to remain within the fold we refused to accept? Here, perhaps, every Britisher knows the answer better than anyone else. From the American Revolution, Great Britain learned how to govern colonies. She learned how to govern them by allowing them to govern themselves. She began to appreciate that her colonies were part and parcel in the customs and traditions of Britain, and that among these none stood out bolder since the days of Magna Charta than liberty. Sometimes Americans forget that our aspiration for liberty has an ancient and honorable origin. Sometimes we forget that when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the rocky shore of Massachusetts they brought with them even more than the traditions of centuries of British aspiration for liberty and freedom; they brought with them also a great system of law. Every state in our great union, save one, Louisiana, has based its legal system on that great body of English legal experience known as the Common Law. In our townships and our counties we see the reflection of the same local divisions in England. In our state legislatures and in Congress itself we have followed the experience of Great Britain, the mother of parliaments. To Great Britain then we owe these and many other political institutions that have stood the test of time and experience so admirably.

These same traditions and political institutions have also been transferred to Great Britain's self-governing dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zea-

land, South Africa, have for all practical purposes complete control of their internal affairs. They may levy tariff duties as they will, even against the products of the mother country itself. They may develop their own armies and navies as they wish. They may participate or not, as they choose, in the wars in which the mother country is engaged. What a happy position, for all the while the colonies have been safe from foreign menace by the mighty arm of the British fleet! In one respect only have the self-governing commonwealths lacked perfect equality with the mother country. So far their foreign relations with the United States and other powers have been conducted by British representatives. How a change in this system can be effected, is a difficult problem for the future. That it will be effected, however, no one doubts, for even before the war began, several imperial conferences were held in which the problem of securing a closer union and co-operation among all elements of the empire was the chief topic of discussion. During the period of the war, there have been other imperial conferences for the same purpose. Moreover, prominent colonial officials have been constantly in touch with affairs in London, and by their aid and advice have helped very materially in guiding the mother country through the perilous four years of war.

Of first rate interest to us among Britain's great commonwealths should be our neighbor to the north, the Dominion of Canada. How little we know about her! So little, indeed, that it is seldom an average American is able to repeat the names of four prominent Canadians. One is tempted to remark that through the busy activity of our newspapers the names of the Mexican bandits are better known. But here again, as is so often true, popular report gives little clue to the things of importance. Canada is a young nation with enormous boundaries, which during the recent decades she has been quietly, but steadily, filling out with sturdy pioneer citizens, many of whom have emigrated from the United States. Stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific runs the boundary line, 4,000 miles long, which separates Canada from the United States. Yet along this, the longest boundary line separating any two countries in the world, there rise the menacing towers of not a single fortress on either side; no military garrisons are there; and no strategic railways are built for the speedy transportation of troops to points of possible attack. They are not necessary when the people of two great nations have put their trust in popular education and democratic government, the two bulwarks of national success and happiness. Since 1867 the Dominion of Canada has been a federation of provinces much like our own union of states. Each province has its own government elected by the people, who also choose members of the House of Commons, sitting at Ottawa, the capital. Just as in Great Britain, the majority in the Canadian House of Commons determines who shall compose the ministry and the policies which are to be pursued. In this way, the rule of the people is assured.

When the war broke out in August, 1914, the British navy guarded the seas and the Canadian people were safe from all possible invasion. Nevertheless, where the principle upon which their government was founded was at stake, they would not on any account keep out of the struggle. Out of a population that numbers only a little over 7,000,000 people they raised 552,000 men, mostly volunteers. Practically all of these men saw active service overseas, where upon numerous occasions they acquitted themselves with imperishable glory. For glory they paid, too, because out of this valiant army there were 160,000 casualties. Many lie buried on the fields of Flanders, and others there are, thousands of them, in Canada to-day who will go through life without the limbs they gave for their country and the principles it stood for.

Far away in the Pacific lie Britain's island commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand. Nature seems to have done its utmost to isolate them from British rule, but, since it is not the bonds of force but rather the bonds of freedom which bind Australia and New Zealand to the mother country, they too threw in their lot against Germany without the least hesitation. It was Australian troops which occupied Germany's possessions in the East Indies. It was the Anzacs who fought so bravely at Gallipoli and in Palestine. Australia alone raised over 417,000 men, every one of them a volunteer. Of these 330,000 saw service somewhere on the battlefield. And so far as they could be rewarded Australia paid them well at the rate of \$1.50 per day for every day in the week. Indeed, Australia and New Zealand, like all the other British colonies, were not called on for a farthing of contribution toward the expense of the war by the mother country, but of her own free-will, Australia raised millions of dollars in loans and taxes for the conduct of the war.

But perhaps the conduct of South Africa is even more striking than that of Canada and Australia. It was only twenty years ago, let us remember, that the Boers were engaged in deadly combat with Great Britain in which they lost their independence and became British colonies. A great many there were, and among them thousands in America, who condemned Great Britain for the Boer war. But whatever may be the merits of that controversy it should be remembered that Great Britain inflicted not a penny of tribute on the conquered land. Indeed, almost immediately she made arrangements to assist the Boers financially to repair the damage of the war. Within a few years after that she conferred free government upon the various states in South Africa. Finally, when they themselves had agreed upon the form of a united popular government, in 1909—only seven years after the Boer war—Great Britain welcomed the Union of South Africa into the comity of her free colonial commonwealths. As Samuel Gompers declared in a recent statement: "The very fact that the Boers of South Africa, after Great Britain had conquered them and given them the opportunity for self-government and self-development, that these people,

conquered less than two decades before, should volunteer to enter the service of the mother country in the common cause, is the greatest tribute ever paid to a nation."

Moreover, to their everlasting credit, the South Africans have not only been passively good British subjects, but they have taken a very active part in the conduct of South African affairs. As soon as the union was instituted in 1909, General Botha, who had been one of the ablest opponents of the British in the Boer war, became the South African prime minister, an office he holds to the present day. Through his energy and zeal German Southwest Africa and German Southeast Africa were wrested from the foe to whom the South Africans are determined they shall never be returned. Another Boer general, Jan Smuts, also figured very prominently in the conquest of the German colonies. Until recently General Smuts has been the South African representative in the British imperial war cabinet in London, where his exceptional loyalty and ability have been the subject of universal commendation.

It may perhaps be suggested that the most significant test of Britain's ability to govern colonies does not after all come in connection with the self-governing commonwealths where the European immigrants dominate, but rather in India and Egypt which are almost completely inhabited by a people alien to British customs and institutions. No one appreciates better than the British themselves that they have made a number of stupid mistakes, for instance, in India by the attempt to introduce English education and legal practices. Such mistakes have been rather rare, however, for the average Britisher, though occasionally a little obstinate, learns his lessons quickly and well in the school of practical experience. In India, Great Britain has a dependency one-half the size of the United States, with a population of 315,000,000. This enormous population varies from the highly intelligent, though very exclusive Brahmins, to the millions of poor and ignorant agricultural toilers. Again, the people vary in religion so decidedly that the danger of religious warfare is never absent. To govern a country with all these complications and many more has not been a simple matter. Nevertheless, by allowing the people complete freedom in their social and religious customs; by giving them almost complete control of their local affairs; by setting up a central government in which the natives are obtaining an increasing representation; by conducting this government through accustomed channels; and by developing the country economically, the British have won the confidence of the great mass of people and added prosperity to a country which, on account of its enormous population and low stage of economic development, has hitherto lived on the verge of starvation.

In its appreciation, therefore, for the benefits of British rule, India and Egypt did not revolt, as Germany confidently expected at the beginning of the war. In view of the reports of discontent which have always been industriously spread concerning British

rule in India, perhaps it was enough to expect her to remain quiet and peaceful, but India did not think so. Not long ago the world was astonished to find that up to August 1, 1918, India had contributed no fewer than 1,115,189 men to the British army. The Indian army alone, therefore, numbered more than one-half the forces which America had in France at the close of the war. To the Indian army, indeed, Great Britain owes a large part of her success in conquering Mesopotamia and Palestine. It can hardly be a pleasant reflection for the Sultan of Turkey, who claims to be the head of the Moslem world, that it was very largely men of his own faith who, fighting under the banner of a nation they had learned to trust and admire, caused the downfall of Turkey.

Such is a brief review of what Great Britain has stood for in the last century, and what she and her world dominion have accomplished in the bloody war which has come to such a happy conclusion. With Great Britain and its democracy of the twentieth century, the United States found a congenial associate in the Great War. If, as we believe, most firmly, democracy conduces to friendship and trust among countries, Great Britain and America may well be the leaders in the forthcoming league of democratic nations. Indeed, as Lord Bryce recently declared: "May the American and the British people stand together forever in peace as they have done in war, to the end that their co-operation shall be for the good of all mankind."

The Far East: a Suggested Addition to Our Reconstructed History Curriculum

BY PROFESSOR K. S. LATOURETTE, DENISON UNIVERSITY.

The past four and a half years have impressed upon us as never before the unity of the world and the hopelessness of any attempt to preserve our traditional American isolation. Since the day when a pistol shot at Serajevo set in motion a chain of events which brought American armies to Europe and Siberia, we dare not ignore unrest in any of the great storm centers of the earth. Particularly must Americans be prepared to give heed to events in the Far East. Here, in India, China, Japan, and the adjoining districts dwells half the human race, and by no means an uncivilized half. With China and Japan our relations are increasingly intimate. Events of great importance during the past few months have bound our fate more closely than ever into the bundle with that of these trans-Pacific neighbors. If we are not to blunder, we must have a nation which is well-informed in the history, characteristics, and problems of these peoples across the sea. A well-meaning but ignorant public opinion, swayed as sometimes it has been by all-informed, hopelessly biased, and even sinisterly influenced men, is a growing menace.

In the formation of an intelligent public opinion our history departments should have an important share. Our experience in the late war has taught us how important to our nation is a comprehension of the historical background of Europe, and how valuable a part men of our profession have, not only in enlightening and educating the public, but in molding the terms of peace. It should not require another world war to teach us the importance of acquiring and transmitting an adequate knowledge of the historical background of that half of the race which lives in the east and the southeast of Asia.

Heretofore our historians have largely ignored the Far East. We have confined our efforts almost exclusively, and perhaps rightly, to our own land and that direct line of cultural development which comes

down through the Near East, the Mediterranean World, and Western Europe, and by which our civilization and history has primarily been shaped. A new day has dawned, however, and for better or for worse the life which we label Occidental is mingling inextricably with that of the Far Orient. The world is becoming a unit, and in the future our half can ignore the other only at its peril. We label as provincial that conception which styled China the Middle Kingdom, and regarded all outsiders as barbarians. We would do well to ask whether we ourselves are not guilty of a similar and less excusable narrowness of outlook. In less than thirty collegiate institutions do we show evidence of enough interest in the Far East to devote to its history even a one semester course. Many of our largest universities ignore it entirely in their catalogues. The output of scholarly work in the field is lamentably small, and a large proportion of the few specialists, we boast, have been imported from England and Germany.

It would seem that in this *post bellum* period of reconstruction when we are reshaping our history curriculums we should take the opportunity to make a place for the Far East. Ought not the time to be near when in every college we will have devoted to the field at least a one semester three hour course? Actual experience has proved such a measure to be both feasible and popular, even in our smaller colleges. One successful plan has been to devote five weeks to India, six to China, five to Japan, and the remainder to the Philippines and the other smaller districts of the neighborhood. There are available recently written texts for each of the three first countries, and with their help any well-trained student of history can feel prepared after a summer's reading to do a reasonably good piece of instruction. A combination of lecture, discussion, and recitation can be used, and for each of the three major countries the pupil can be assigned a topic for reading and special

report either in the form of an outline or an essay. A fairly well-rounded reference library adequate for most of the needs of such a course can be acquired for from one to two hundred dollars, and in *Asia*, the monthly journal of the American Asiatic Association, there are timely and authoritative articles on current topics put in so attractive a dress as to interest the most indifferent. It would seem that some such plan ought to be adopted even where the department is so under-staffed as to preclude the course being offered more than once every third year.

Ought we not also to see in our larger universities more than one course in the field? If our historians are to be called upon at all generally to teach the Far East—and unless we are hopelessly blind to the problems of the age that time must come—do not those graduate schools where most of the training for the profession is given owe it as a duty to their task and to the public to offer more than incidental or elementary work in the field? Ought not each of our more important history faculties to contain in their number at least one man who shall devote the major part or all of his time to the study and teaching of the Far East? Such men are rather hard to find, but were there a certain and steady demand the supply would increase. Such courses for the present might not be largely elected, but if the teaching were good it would require only a few years' cultivation to develop an appetite for it. May we not even hope that in time there will be three or four institutions in each of which two or three men will be devoting their entire time to research and instruction?

Should we not also strive for an increased output of authoritative historical studies on Far Eastern topics? The public is certainly in need of them; the American output of such books and articles is alarmingly slight, and misinformation and superficial thinking flaunt themselves in our yellow press or in less wanton garb find their way into the pages of our sober periodicals, and obtain a hearing on our public rostrums. Ought

we not to encourage more of our graduate students to major in the Far East? For most of these such a plan would involve a three or four years' residence abroad to acquire the language and the understanding which comes of close contact with the peoples studied. This, however, is rather readily accomplished in these days when government and missionary schools are looking eagerly for teachers. Perhaps most of these men would need to content themselves on their return to America with giving only the minor part of their teaching time to Far Eastern subjects, but their research and writing could be devoted to the field, and they would have the satisfaction that comes to those who do pioneering for a worthy cause.

In the last place, ought we not to give more attention to those students from the Far Orient who are now in our midst? In our colleges and universities are many scores of Hindus, over a thousand Chinese, and several hundred Japanese students. Some of these are even now specializing in the history of their native lands, and have already produced interesting and valuable studies. Many more, if given a little encouragement, might either as a side interest or as a major occupation devote themselves to history, and not only produce books which would be of value in interpreting the Orient to the Occident, but become active in furthering sanely conducted historical research and teaching in their home countries, and in interpreting the West to the East. Some, in fact, are already doing so.

These are days in which it is both easy and necessary to think on fresh lines and to hew out new paths. There is open to historians a great opportunity to aid in furthering world-wide understanding between great and divergent peoples, and to prepare the way for intelligent action. If we persist in our provincialism, in our neglect of half of the human race, the nation may well accuse us of blindness to our task and faithlessness to our trust.

The Drama of the Powers

The Nations of Europe in Dialogue from June to September, 1914

BY DOUGLAS HORTON, GLASTONBURY, CONN.

PROLOGUE.

For a complete understanding of the causes of the World War, it is necessary on the one hand to know what attitude each nation took towards its European neighbors in its published utterances just prior to the outbreak of hostilities, and on the other hand to have such acquaintance with the foreign policy of each nation during the fifteen years previous, as to be able to read into each published utterance the motive which lay behind it.

In 1815, Europe was so exhausted by the wars of Napoleon that she decided to have peace. Accordingly, the largest nations divided up the territory as they saw fit, and constituted themselves a committee,

known as "The Concert of Europe," to keep the peace. These nations were Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia; and in 1900 the same combination remained, excepting that Italy had been added, and Prussia had grown into Germany. One of the first steps they took to ensure peace was to make Belgium permanently neutral in 1839, guaranteeing that if any one of them violated her neutrality, all the rest would come to her rescue.

The one weak spot in this "committee" was that there was no chairman; and the European history of the last century has been the struggle for this position. In such a contest as this, party lines are always formed; and in 1910 the two parties were the

"Triple Alliance" and the "Triple Entente," the former made up of Germany, Austria and Italy, the latter, of Britain, France and Russia. Italy and Britain were only loosely affiliated with their "parties."

In the decade before the war, the two groups of nations tried their strength in two places, Morocco, and the Balkans; and in both instances, the Alliance was worsted. Morocco was wanted by both France and Germany for colonization purposes. Behind these two nations stood the two great alliances. In 1905, the Kaiser stopped off at a Moroccan port and made a speech. This aroused such suspicion in the Entente that a conference of the nations had to be called; and at this gathering France won her point against Germany. In 1908, when a German consul in Morocco shielded some deserters from the French army, the Hague Tribunal, to which the question was submitted, gave a decision in favor of France. Finally, in 1911, when Germany had again brought the Entente about her head by sending a warship to a Moroccan port, the compromise which closed the incident was a defeat for Germany and the Triple Alliance. In these three diplomatic engagements Germany completely lost her prestige in Morocco.

From then on, the Balkans became the centre of attention; here the game was played for their alliances by Austria on the one hand, and Russia on the other, each of these nations coveting control in this area. In 1908, the former annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, two Balkan provinces. Russia protested, but having little support from France and Britain, who were not then interested in the Balkans, had to submit to her rival. This was a plain victory for the Triple Alliance, but it was shortlived. In 1912 the first Balkan war occurred: Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro against Turkey. The Triple Alliance, having supplied Turkey with arms and officers, confidently expected her to win, and the complete rout of Turkey was a severe defeat to the Alliance. In the second Balkan war, which followed the first immediately, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Turkey were pitted against Bulgaria, who claimed the lion's share of the spoils of the first war. To this claim, Austria, who was worried over the rise of Serbia, egged Bulgaria on; and in the defeat of Bulgaria, the Triple Alliance received another blow. Serbia openly despised Austria. The Alliance—especially Germany and Austria—thus defeated in both Morocco and the Balkans, felt that something must be done to re-establish their prestige.

The following dialogue, which gives in a sentence the gist of every officially published utterance of the Foreign Departments of the various governments from June to September, 1914, offers the reader the opportunity of making an accurate judgment as to who was immediately responsible for precipitating the awful war.

JUNE 28.

Austria—The Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the Duchess of Hohenburg have been assassinated at Serajevo.

JULY 1.

Serbia—I am not guilty of the assassination.

JULY 9.

Serbia—The Crown Prince Alexander is receiving threatening letters from Austria every day.

JULY 14.

Serbia—The press of Austria is kindling feeling against me.

JULY 16.

France—My president and prime minister have left for Russia.

JULY 19.

Serbia—I want to be friendly with Austria, and will show her any favor consistent with my dignity.

JULY 20.

Britain—Austria will doubtless act reasonably with regard to Serbia.

France—My president and prime minister have arrived in Russia.

JULY 21.

France—The weakness of the German stock exchange must mean that she is getting anxious about the Serbian question.

JULY 22.

France—Austria should be moderate with Serbia, but I am afraid she will not.

Austria—I am compelled to take measures to stop the movement in Serbia which is threatening me.

JULY 23.

Britain—If Austria gives a time limit for Serbia to reply to her note, she may inflame the whole world.

France—Germany favors using a strong hand against Serbia, and Russia says that the guilty ought to be punished.

Serbia—Austria has given me a note to be answered within two days.

Austria—I am compelled to present the following ultimatum to Serbia:

1. You must suppress the hatred of your people toward me.
2. Dissolve the Narodna Odbrana, the Slavic Society.
3. Eliminate the feeling against me in the public schools.
4. Remove your officers and functionaries who cherish feelings against me.
5. Accept my help in suppressing the feeling against me.
6. With my help, take action against the Serajevo plotters.
7. Arrest certain persons named by me as implicated.
8. Prevent traffic in arms across my frontier.
9. Explain the hostility of your officers against me.
10. Notify me immediately that all this has been done.

Germany—As the Serbian intrigue has threatened the existence of Austria, she is justified in her demands.

Austria—I cannot lay this matter open to negotiation; this would only prolong the crisis.

JULY 24.

France—Without yet knowing the contents of the Austrian note, I venture the hope that it is not an ultimatum.

Britain—I am interested in this affair from the point of view of the peace of Europe.

France—My first impression on reading the Austrian note is one of dismay that an ultimatum of such severity was delivered while my president and prime minister were on the sea. What do Britain and Russia say? Austria and Germany seem very excited. It is right for Austria to demand punishment for the Serajevo crime, but she ought not to interfere with the independence of Serbia.

Britain—We might have a German-French-Italian-British combination to mediate both in Austria and Russia.

France—I would be willing to co-operate in such mediation in Austria.

Austria—If Serbia does not give me a satisfactory answer, I will break off diplomatic relations with her, but not necessarily declare war.

Serbia—I will answer Austria within her time limit, but if my independence is threatened, I will appeal to the friendly powers.

Britain—The situation is dangerous, but the four Powers might mediate between Serbia, Austria and Russia.

Austria—I do not want more territory, but I do insist on punishing crime.

Serbia—Will not Britain induce Austria to moderate her unjust demands?

Britain—Serbia should give the fullest satisfaction to Austria wherever this is possible; and Austria should be moderate.

Serbia—I beg help from Russia.

Russia—The time limit is too short. Will not the other Powers insist upon this point also?

Belgium—The situation is serious.

JULY 25.

Austria—Serbia's press, social organizations, and military and civil administration have for years fostered hatred against me.

Britain—The co-operation of Germany in any mediation scheme is essential.

France—But Germany will not bring any strong influence to bear on Austria in the direction of peace.

Britain—We ought to mediate, however, and Germany must assist us.

Germany—The conflict is a local one, between Austria and Serbia. I should, however, be glad to mediate between Austria and Russia.

Britain—I agree with Russia that the time limit is too short.

France—Yes, the time limit is too short.

Austria—But I cannot extend the time limit.

Serbia—My reply to the note will be conciliatory.

Britain—I hope Austria will take a favorable view of the Serbian reply. Italy does not want war.

Austria—The question is one to be decided between Serbia and me alone.

Russia—I cannot remain indifferent to the question.

Austria—I have no desire to crush Serbia, but only wish to maintain my own position.

Russia—If trouble comes out of this, I expect Britain to act with me.

Austria—I do not intend to interfere with the independence of Serbia.

Serbia—My reply to the Austrian note is as follows: "I accede to all of her demands; as regards her assisting me in the prosecution of Serajevo criminals, I 'will admit such collaboration as agrees with the principle of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighborly relations.'"

Austria—This reply is unsatisfactory. It should have been unconditional. I break off diplomatic relations with Serbia.

Serbia—I am mobilizing.

Belgium—The situation is growing worse.

JULY 26.

France—Italy will probably keep out of war, but not so Russia. Britain is uncertain. Germany is in an uproar, and Austria keeps a firm attitude.

Russia—Italy should help preserve the peace; I must assist Serbia.

Austria—Serbia mobilized before she delivered her answer to me.

Russia—Will not Austria send another milder note to Serbia, and will not Germany advise Austria to assent to this suggestion?

Britain—Will France, Germany and Italy hold a council for mediation, Austria meanwhile to stop hostilities?

Germany—If Russia mobilizes, I shall have to do so, too; I wish we might keep this affair confined to Austria and Serbia.

Britain—Germany is evidently reserving her decision about mobilizing until she sees how France will act.

Germany—If Russia does not accept Austria's statement that she desires no territorial gain in Serbia, the responsibility for a war will rest entirely with the former. Will not France press this?

France—I cannot accede to Germany's wish for me to remonstrate with Russia. Britain should push her mediation plan.

Germany—I hope Russia will take no steps to disturb the peace.

Austria—I am compelled to take war measures against Serbia.

France—If Germany, as she says, was ignorant of the Austrian note before it was delivered, would she have supported her ally so blindly? Why does she stand between Austria and the Powers now?

JULY 27.

France—It is for Germany now to advise Austria to submit to mediation.

Germany—Without having yet been directly approached as to mediating, I will say that I could never put the Austro-Serbian dispute before the Powers of Europe. I will do so, however, in the case of Austria and Russia.

Britain—If, then, Germany will mediate between Austria and Russia, will she not do the same between Austria and Serbia?

France—Germany wishes me to urge Russia to keep the peace, saying that the responsibility for a European war rests solely with her. As a matter of fact, the possibility of mediation rests solely with Germany.

Germany—I have passed on to Austria Britain's suggestion for mediation.

Britain—I am keeping my First Fleet mobilized.

France—Austria is acting so quickly and our attempts at peace are futile.

Britain—I am afraid that Austria's treatment of Serbia's abject reply will fire all Europe.

Austria—I repeat that I have no territorial ambitions.

Britain—France and Italy agree to assist me in mediation; will not Germany do the same?

Russia—If my direct dealings with Austria fail, I will be glad to accept the mediation proposed by Britain. The Serbian reply is all that Austria can wish, unless the latter really desires war. If it does come to war, I will support Serbia.

JULY 28.

Austria—I declare war on Serbia.

Germany—If Austria is dragged into a war between the Powers by Russia, then I will have to support her.

Russia—Germany seems to be backing Austria in everything. I hope Britain will continue her efforts at mediation.

Britain—The mediation conference that I propose would be quite informal. I will not press this, however, until the direct negotiations between Russia and Austria fail.

Austria—Britain's suggestion for mediation has been outstripped by events, and so is too late.

France—Germany has done nothing to restrain Austria.

Germany—I am continuing in my attempt to induce Austria to make clear her friendliness to Russia.

Britain—I should, of course, accept Germany's proposal for mediation between Austria and Russia, if nothing better can be had.

Austria—The Serbian reply was insincere.

Britain—I hope Russia succeeds in her negotiations with Austria.

Austria—Serbia's hostilities against me make all thought of mediation impossible. A mediation conference would only provoke Serbia to greater insolence.

France—Germany says that she will not assist in mediation because of Austria's objections.

Russia—Britain must mediate immediately, else all is lost.

Austria—Russia is mobilizing against me; will not Germany protest?

Germany—I shall make every effort to keep a friendly understanding between Austria and Russia.

JULY 29.

Britain—I hope Austria can satisfy Russia.

Austria—I cannot accept mediation now, as Serbia has no just claims upon such procedure, and hostilities are already declared.

France—With both Germany and Austria playing for time, Russia had best accede to Britain's mediation proposal forthwith.

Britain—If Germany would suggest some practical method for keeping the peace, I would adopt it.

France—Germany will not influence Austria for peace.

Britain—I will not interfere in a Balkan quarrel; but in case the issues are extended, I may act. Mediation by the four Powers is apparently the only solution of the matter.

Belgium—I am strengthening my army, but not mobilizing.

Britain—If I have to, I shall certainly intervene. Austria could make a vassal state of Serbia without taking any territory; I have no further proposal to make if Austria will not agree to a conference in regard to Serbia. She says that Serbia has always been in her sphere of influence, and wonders why we interfere.

Russia—I would gladly continue my dealings with Austria, but I think Britain's mediation scheme is better.

France—Russia, disquieted at both Austria and Germany, has mobilized against the former. My president and prime minister have returned.

Austria—Germany should let Russia know that her mobilization may lead to serious consequences.

Germany—France is arming. If this continues I shall have to strengthen my army—this would not mean mobilization.

Russia—Austria has refused any further direct negotiations, so only Britain's proposal remains. We might put the Serbian problem before the Hague Tribunal.

France—The Russo-Austrian negotiations having apparently failed, will not Britain renew her mediation proposals?

Russia—Germany says she will mobilize if I continue to do so; and I must continue, because Austria is mobilizing, too.

Germany—There is no reason why Russia should interfere with regard to Serbia.

JULY 30.

Britain—Germany asks if I will remain neutral if she pledges herself not to demand any of France's European territory, but I cannot promise neutrality if Germany attacks France or Belgium. If we pass through this crisis, we should establish an International League of Honor.

Germany—Mediation is made impossible by Russia's mobilizing. I desire peace. Will not Britain bring pressure to bear on Russia and France?

Britain—I wish Germany might induce Austria to induce mediation. Germany must not count on my standing aside from war.

Serbia—I am grateful to Russia for her promise of aid.

Austria—I should welcome a friendly discussion with Russia.

Russia—I will stop my military preparations if Austria will eliminate from her claims those points which do violence to the independence of Serbia.

Austria—Since Russia is mobilizing against me, I must do the same against her.

France—I will stand by Russia if war comes.

Britain—Germany proposes that we negotiate for peace after Austria has occupied Belgrade; even this is better than nothing. Russia should guard against precipitating an international crisis.

France—Germany has troops all along my frontier; but my troops are withdrawn ten kilometers from my borders.

Britain—France is growing fearful of German aggression.

JULY 31.

Russia—I will stop mobilizing if Austria will stop her march into Serbia and lay the problem before the Powers.

Austria—If Russia will cease mobilizing, I will agree to mediation between Serbia and me.

Britain—It is good that Austria and Russia are reopening the discussion; Russia, however, cannot cease mobilizing without some assurance from Austria as to the limit of her advance into Serbia.

France—I second Britain's proposal that Russia agree to cease mobilizing if Austria agrees to occupy only Belgrade.

Britain—If Germany will propose some good peace plan, I will adopt it.

Germany—Russia's mobilization makes peace plans impossible. She has forces on my frontier.

France—Germany is evidently trying to humiliate Russia.

Britain—News comes from Germany that the Russian army and fleet are mobilized, and that Germany has consequently strengthened her army. This almost puts an end to hope.

Germany—I will mobilize in twelve hours if Russia does not stop her military preparations.

Austria—My mobilization against Russia is purely defensive.

Germany—Will France remain neutral in case of a Russo-German war?

France—Germany says she will mobilize unless Russia reduces her armies, and wants also to know my attitude. This, however, I cannot yet state.

Russia—I am grateful to Britain for the firm tone she has used with Austria and Germany.

France—Will not Britain declare herself to be on our side, so that war may be averted?

Britain—Will France and Germany respect Belgian neutrality?

Belgium—France says she will not invade my territory. I hope Germany will give the same assurance. I am mobilizing.

Britain—Will Belgium maintain her neutrality?

Belgium—I will. Germany seems to be inclined to respect my neutrality.

Britain—I cannot pledge myself either to enter the war or to remain neutral.

AUGUST 1.

Britain—I wish Germany would hasten her reply as to Belgium's neutrality. Russia and Austria are still ready to make terms; will not Germany help? Russia proposes mediation between herself and Austria on the terms that both stay their military operations; and Austria accepts. This gives some ground of hope. Austria seems anxious for peace.

France—Austria and Russia may be agreeable to mediation now, but not so Germany. She will not withdraw her ultimatum to Russia, and is determined to make war on me, too.

Britain—Russia should make every effort to satisfy Germany.

Russia—Germany says that if I do not stop mobilizing, it will mean war, or something very close to war.

France—I will, of course, respect the neutrality of Belgium.

Belgium—I am grateful to France for this.

France—Germany is massing troops on the frontier, so I am taking counter measures.

Britain—I trust a Franco-German war will not break out.

France—Germany is mobilizing under the guise of strengthening her army. My mobilization is only for protection. I shall respect the neutrality of Luxemburg.

Germany—I declare war on Russia.

Russia—Germany has declared war. Will not Britain help?

Britain—I cannot say whether I will join with France or not.

Germany—If France remains neutral, I will not attack her. Britain, however, must assure me of French neutrality.

AUGUST 2.

France—Germany says the measures she has taken in Luxemburg are only to protect the railroads, which are German-owned.

Belgium—I wish Germany would answer specifically the question as to my neutrality.

France—Germany has declared war against Russia just when peace seemed possible.

Russia—Germany is surely to blame for opening hostilities just when negotiations for peace were in progress.

France—My territory has been violated by Germany. My troops are still ten kilometers from the border.

Britain—I will assist France if the German fleet attacks French shipping or the French coast.

France—I thank Britain for that offer.

Britain—Germany must release my cargoes in Hamburg.

France—I protest against the violation of my frontier by Germany.

Belgium—Germany has delivered to me the following note: "Since France is intending to strike at me (Germany) through Belgium, for self-defense I must make the first blow, and so I desire to cross Belgium as a friendly army. If this request is not granted, I must force a passage. Twelve hours are given for reply."

AUGUST 3.

France—I have not violated German territory.

Belgium—I cannot allow Germany to cross the frontier.

France—Germany has broken off diplomatic relations with me, and I with her.

Belgium—I do not yet appeal to the Powers; I am waiting until Germany commits some act of aggression. I do, however, appeal to Britain for diplomatic intervention against Germany.

France—German troops have invaded Belgium.

AUGUST 4.

Belgium—Germany is certainly planning to invade my territory.

Britain—I protest against the invasion of Belgium by Germany.

Belgium—Britain would assist me if my country were invaded.

Britain—Belgium should resist invasion by force. Germany must release my ships in her ports.

France—Germany has declared war on me; I declare war on her.

Britain—Germany must pledge herself to refrain from the violation of Belgium. If I do not receive a response to this effect by twelve o'clock to-night, I declare war on Germany.

Belgium—My territory has been violated. I break off diplomatic relations with Germany. I appeal to Britain, France and Russia to protect me.

AUGUST 5.

Belgium—Great Britain responds to my appeal. I will defend myself. France and Russia also respond.

Austria—I declare war on Russia.

AUGUST 6.

Serbia—I break off diplomatic relations with Germany.

Austria—I will not attack Britain without declaring war; I expect her to take the same attitude.

AUGUST 7.

Belgium—I have taken measures for the defense of my African colonies.

AUGUST 9.

Austria—I am not taking part in the Franco-German war.

AUGUST 10.

Belgium—Germany, after the fall of Liege, again proposes a friendly march across my territory. I reject such a suggestion.

AUGUST 11.

Austria—France has broken off diplomatic relations with me.

AUGUST 20.

Austria—Japan is to combat Germany in the East.

AUGUST 22.

Austria—I declare war on Belgium.

AUGUST 24.

Austria—I break off diplomatic relations with Japan.

AUGUST 29.

Belgium—I declare war on Austria.

SEPTEMBER 4.

France, Russia, Britain—We will not conclude peace separately during the present war.

In the January, 1919, number of *History*, Prof. F. M. Powicke continues his treatment of the "Origins of France." Dr. Charles Singer reviews recent works on the history of science, and Prof. A. F. Pollard interprets Lord Morley's "Recollections" and his "Notes on History and Politics."

"Northern Opinion of Approaching Secession," October, 1859, to November, 1860, is treated by L. T. Lowry in *Smith College Studies in History* (Vol. III, No. 4). After reviewing the northern sentiment, as expressed in the press and on the platform, Mr. Lowry concludes "the outburst of secessionism in the south immediately after the John Brown raid was condemned by most republicans, but extenuated by most persons opposing republicanism; that the democrats and constitutional-unionists held republican teachings—and especially the indorsement of Helper's book—largely responsible for the raid, and for disunionism in the south."

Bobbie After the War

Conversation of a Father with His Son

DESIGNED FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LESSONS ON THE PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

PREPARED WITH ACCOMPANYING QUESTIONS BY A GROUP OF PENNSYLVANIA EDUCATORS FOR THE USE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENCE AND COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

In company with several million other American schoolboys, Bobbie had passed through the nineteen months of our war with Germany, and he had shown deep interest in the events of the war. He had taken his part in the varied forms of service which America's school children performed so enthusiastically during the war. He had knitted for the Junior Red Cross, sold War Savings Stamps, helped in the loan campaigns, and aided in the collection of materials and funds for war relief organizations. He had become much interested in airplanes, keeping a scrapbook of pictures and descriptions of warfare in the air, and had constructed model machines of various types, too numerous in name and designs for his parents to comprehend.

He had grown more rapidly both physically and mentally than in any previous period of his life. The war service work of the schools seemed to enter into his daily life. He was more ready to help himself and to help in the family duties than ever before. We were thankful that the war appeals had not embittered his life with a rancorous hate, but had rather instilled the lessons of service and self-sacrifice. For him as for many millions of other Americans the war had been a period of high ideals, of wider service, of broader use of his faculties, and of greater pleasure in the new activities.

Then rumors of peace were spread abroad, the actual terms of the armistice became known; and for a few hours Bobbie, with his millions of fellow-Americans, gave himself up to natural boyish expressions of joy.

Only a few days had passed after the cessation of hostilities when we noticed, or thought we noticed, a lessening of interest in things connected with the war. It may have been only our imagination, but Bobbie seemed less careful in the use of sugar, somewhat indifferent to the appeals of the war relief workers, and no longer anxious to read in the newspapers about happenings in Europe. Could it be that the inspiring effect of the war was so soon to be lost? Were Bobbie and his fellow young Americans to settle back to the old life of the days before the war, with its selfish pleasures and no thoughts of service for others? Must the fields of France, Belgium, and other lands be continually drenched in blood to call forth the best in our American life? Were there no ideals of peace which could take the place of the glory of the battlefield? Must all the war's good in-

fluences in our national life be lost? Could not sacrifice be demanded for the continuation of liberty and democracy after those boons had been protected from the Hunnish attacks?

Such questions naturally came to our minds as we looked at Bobbie's changing attitude toward things. And as we had talked over the war with him, we now decided to answer his questions upon the new problems of the times of peace.

I.

What is meant by reconstruction, Dad?

By reconstruction we mean the act of building anew or making over, and when we use the word today we are speaking of all those acts of individuals, officials, and governments which will be necessary to bring the warring nations back to peace conditions. But understand, Bobbie, that reconstruction is different from restoration. President Wilson in his "fourteen-point" speech of January 6, 1918, which every school child should study carefully, holds that the devastated parts of France, Belgium and Serbia should be "restored." By this he meant not merely the return of those lands to their former occupants, but also the repairing of the damages done to property in that territory. Reconstruction means much more than this. A reconstructed house is rarely exactly the same as the original. And so the countries recently at war, will not by reconstruction be brought back to the same conditions which preceded the war. Men, women and children have become accustomed to doing things which they would not have thought of before the war; and they will keep on acting in the new ways in times of peace.

Your school life, Bobbie, will continue to bring calls to help the people about you, and to aid the local and national governments in ministering to the general welfare. Farmers, bankers, factory workers, railroad men and people generally will not stop at once their activities for the good of the nation. Of course all our energies will no longer be directed toward winning a war; but the problem of reconstruction is to keep alive the patriotic spirit, and to see that it is used for increasing the happiness of every person, not only in our own country, but in others as well. Do you think you are ready, Bobbie, to continue the work and sacrifice of war days in order that humanity as a whole may be happier?

II.

But, Dad, what do you mean by "work and sacrifice for humanity?"

I am glad you asked that question, Bobbie, for I am sure many of us do not know what is meant by sacrificing for humanity or for democracy. It is a group of words which sounds fine, but does not always lead to good deeds. But, remember, Bobbie, that "humanity" means you and me and all our family and all Americans, and all Europeans and all human beings in the world. It includes all we love so well, and many others whom we do not know, but who have as good a right to health, liberty and happiness as you or I have. We entered the war to "make the world safe for democracy"—not to protect our own great democracy simply, but also to preserve the rights of self-government of all peoples. We have sent our soldiers to die on France's battlefields, and our naval heroes to fight the cruel submarines; we have loaned our money to the government in Liberty Bonds, and given our savings to the Red Cross; we have stinted ourselves in the use of meat, sugar, and wheat; we have done all this in order that German military leaders, who called themselves "super-men," might not conquer all the free peoples of the world, and reduce them to slavery. The American people entered the war with no desire to grab German territory or to obtain any wealth for ourselves. Our purpose was to throw all our great resources upon the side of right and liberty in the struggle against a selfish and cruel foe.

When you think of humanity, and of our duty towards it, you should try to picture some person—man, woman or child—who needs your help. It is difficult to call to mind the six millions of Belgians who have suffered so terribly in this war. But you will recall the name of the Belgian orphan who has been supported by your school or class. You can easily remember some of the pictures showing the hardships in the retreat of the Serbians. If you take these simple facts and multiply them by millions you will have the sufferings of humanity during the war. And if you multiply them by tens of millions you will have an idea of what humanity would have suffered if the German plans had been carried out.

You admit it is your duty, Bobbie, to support the orphans of France and Belgium, and you have taken pleasure in depriving yourself of something in order to give to them. And in the same way we are partly responsible for the health and happiness of other men, women and children in our own country and in distant lands. If we deny ourselves some little satisfaction and give to a worthy cause we may save a boy or girl from a cruel death, or bring happiness into some one's life; and we shall be "sacrificing for humanity."

III.

Now that the war is over, there will be enough food to go around, will there not, Dad? We shall not have to skimp on sugar, candy, wheat and meats, shall we?

No, Bobbie, we cannot go back to our old wastefulness in foods; not for the present at least, and I hope we never shall. Do you realize that if every one of the millions of men in the armies in Europe were to return to his home at once and try to produce food, there would still be no new crops for over six months? How is the world to be fed during that time? Only from the crops of last summer, which were produced when the men were in the armies. The nations must be fed out of our present stocks, and the supply of these is not great.

The United States has promised, Bobbie, to furnish Europe with 20,000,000 tons of food before the next harvest; and the peoples are looking to us to live up to our promises. We have not failed thus far and we must not fail now in the trying times of coming peace. Yet we shall not keep our promise if we go back to our former waste of foods. We must conserve food in order that the people in the allied countries may not suffer; in order that the small neutral nations may be fed; in order that the devastated countries of Belgium, Serbia and Poland may be succored.

The winter is upon us, but there is no reason why a single person in all this United States should die of starvation. We have abundant supplies of grains and meats to satisfy our own needs and to aid other peoples. A man who is well informed upon the matter has stated that it is certain ten millions of persons will die of starvation in Russia during the present winter, and that several times that number will be famished almost to death. Think what that means, Bobbie! Ten millions of people are equivalent to twice the population of New York City; to six times the population of Philadelphia; or nearly to the entire population of Pennsylvania and New Jersey! Owing to the scanty harvest of last year, the disarranged railroad system, and the severity of the Russian winter, it will be impossible to get food to millions of Russians.

In the central European countries, in Austro-Hungary and Germany, the conditions may not be so bad; but there surely has been and will be much intense suffering before the next harvest. In the face of these facts concerning the immediate needs of the Allies, of the neutrals, of Russia and of the central countries, do you think, Bobbie, you should stop saving food or continue to conserve it?

Yes, Dad, I am willing to help all these peoples except the Germans and Austrians. We have been trying to destroy their armies, why should we now feed their people?

It is true, Bobbie, that our first duty is to our people at home, to the Allies, the neutrals and Russia. Everything which our great and wealthy nation can do should be directed toward caring for them.

There are excellent reasons why we should try to feed the peoples of southeastern Europe, including many of the races of Austro-Hungary. The Serbians surely deserve all we can do for them. Austro-Hungary is now being split up into a series of small republics; but these people will not be able to

govern themselves intelligently if they have not sufficient food. Plunder and pillage, poverty and discontent will take the place of the well-ordered governments we think of as republics.

And the same reasoning applies to the case of Germany. The Germans have already sacrificed for their lost cause; they will be compelled to surrender some of their territory; they will be compelled to pay indemnities for the injuries they have done to France, Belgium, Serbia and Poland. It would be inhuman to allow the Germans to starve if we have sufficient food to give them after our duties to the other nations have been performed. We do not starve criminals or prisoners; and in justice to our own principles we must even come to the relief of our enemies, if the need is great and we have the means. It might even be good policy to help feed the Germans, for by that means we may keep their country from anarchy and prepare the way for a republican government which would live up to its obligations.

IV.

Is the bringing back of our troops from Europe a difficult task, Dad?

No, Bobbie, the return of the troops to America is a simple question of transportation. It will, indeed, require months to bring two million soldiers to our shores; but you must remember that in times of peace the trans-Atlantic steamships have brought from Europe more than a million immigrants in a single year. With the government's control of shipping, the return of the men is a large task, but by no means a serious one.

But there is a far more important work than the transporting of two million men across the Atlantic. That is, restoring these two millions of men to their homes and finding places for them to earn a decent living. First, they must be "mustered out" of the service. This implies making a record of each man's service in the army and navy. It requires that each be given a physical examination, so that the government may know whether the man's health has been injured in the service and thus record his right to a pension, or protect the government against unjust claims. It requires further the accounting for all materials and supplies in the possession of each enlisted man.

Either before or after the war the final mustering out, the men must be transported to their homes, and each will be given a month's pay on which to support himself. He will be allowed to wear his uniform, until he can obtain the ordinary civilian's clothing.

While these details of mustering out are annoying, and may consume much time, yet they are simple questions of military routine.

Men will remain in camps in this country until the War Department's clerks can give them an honorable discharge. But the greatest problem of all is to find congenial, productive employment for the men after they have been mustered out. There may be sharpshooters and criminals who will try to lead the soldiers into immoral lives. Our war welfare organizations

must be on the alert to protect the men from such influences. They must be well received in the communities through which they pass, entertained in safe, clean quarters; and their attention turned to resuming their places in peaceful life.

In their home communities the men must be encouraged to take up the life of business and industry. The men in the service have had wonderful experiences, and the ordinary life of our communities may seem dull and uninteresting to some. Many may be tempted into idleness. Moreover, a very considerable number of our soldiers have received some injury of a permanent nature, such as the loss of an arm, or a leg, or eyesight, that makes it necessary to find some other trade or profession, than the one they were following, or were fitting themselves to enter. These men are already being re-educated by the national government, and trained for new occupations. It will be the duty of all citizens, and particularly of our Federal and State departments of labor, to place before the men opportunities for remunerative employment. It is the work of young and old to welcome them back, and help them find positions in life for which they are best fitted. You, Bobbie, should take an active part in this work.

V.

Will there be enough positions, Dad, for all those men? Have not other men, and women and children taken their places?

You have in these questions, Bobbie, hit upon some of the difficulties we face in the days after the war. Of course, in some cases, employers have agreed to receive back into their employ men who have gone into the service. There are many such instances, but they will solve the question of earning a livelihood for only a part of the millions who return. For a great many of those returning new positions must be found. Employment for the men may be obtained by the following methods:

1. By offering them vacant lands and encouraging them to enter agriculture.

2. By giving them work in industries which are now shorthanded.

3. By excluding boys and girls from industrial positions. In many of our States, child labor laws and compulsory education laws have been ignored during the war. The return of peace should put these laws in strict observance, and also extend them into states where they have not been accepted.

4. By giving to the returning men positions temporarily filled by women. It may not be possible or desirable to put out of industry all the women who have taken up men's work. But in many cases women have, as a war measure, undertaken work for which they are not suited. Surely in these cases they should not be allowed to continue, and the work should be given to men. Further, we must remember that many women took positions because the men workers of the family had gone to war. With the return of the men, the energies of these women can

be turned to occupations requiring only a part of their time.

5. A great amount of construction work has been held up by the war. Railroads and other corporations, as well as the National, State and local governments are anxious to proceed with their plans for improvements, extensions, and new enterprises. Illustrations of such public work may be seen in the State program for road building, in the plans of cities like Philadelphia for subways and rapid transit, in the national plans for waterways and irrigation, and in the delayed construction of school houses and public buildings. Instances of private enterprise are to be found in the plans for the construction of new dwelling-houses, for the renewal of worn-out rails on railways, and for the manufacture of new equipment.

We are returning to the shorter work-day, and this will give employment to some of the men now in the service. During the war some workmen have labored as much as seventy hours a week. This is more than human nature can permanently endure. It will be well for the workers and the returning men to cut down the hours of labor to a moderate figure.

In these various ways, Bobbie, there should be abundant opportunities for every soldier and sailor to find an occupation as soon as he is mustered out. Even with the men who will leave munition plants and other war industries there should still be enough work to go around, and enough wages to make all satisfied. This country is about to enter upon its most interesting industrial period. Any person who is willing to do his share of the work will be assured of a share in the nation's prosperity.

VI.

Will Europeans again come in large numbers to America as immigrants after the peace, Dad?

It is impossible to foresee, Bobbie, what movements of population will take place after travel is made free. Perhaps many foreigners in the United States will wish to return to their former homes and see how their relatives have fared during the war. Perhaps many persons in Europe will desire to leave their homes, get away from the unrest, the devastation, and the high taxes of Europe, and seek a new life in the country which has done so much to save the world for liberty. Probably the name of the United States will stand higher in the esteem of foreigners than ever before. But we cannot as yet determine what effect this will have upon the movement of peoples to this country.

There is, however, Bobbie, a duty which we owe to the foreigners who have already come here. In the past we have permitted them to come, allowed them to settle together in sections where they spoke their own language and rarely heard a word of English. We have encouraged them to do the work in our communities, but we have not tried to educate them so that they would understand and appreciate the things America stands for. They have gone their own way, with foreign language newspapers, foreign language churches, and a foreign social life of their own. They

have had labor bosses who knew their language, but often their employers could not speak to them in a tongue they understood. Hence they have become the prey of bosses, of agitators, and of unscrupulous persons who used this ignorance of the English language and of American institutions in order to frighten the foreigners into harsh contracts or money payments. When the large American armies were recently formed, the United States Government was compelled to place these men of foreign extraction in companies by themselves and give them instruction in English before they could understand the military orders and commands. It was also compelled to issue some of its documents in six or seven languages in order that the foreign-born might understand the reasons for the entrance of the United States into the war.

All this is wrong, Bobbie. If the foreigner is allowed to come to our shores, he should be given a welcome, he must be protected from unscrupulous persons, and he ought at the earliest possible moment to be given an opportunity to learn our language and become familiar with our political and business habits. This process of educating the foreigner we call by the long name of Americanization—that is, the process of making Americans out of foreigners.

Americanization may be carried on in the evening school, or by visits to the home; in the shop or factory, where it results in more careful work and higher wages; and by the action of our courts which have power to admit foreigners to American citizenship, if they are properly qualified. I hope, Bobbie, you will never be so unkind or rude as to laugh at a foreigner. Remember how you would feel in a country where no one understood your language, or protected you from injury. All American citizens should join in a movement to educate the foreigner, to make him a respected member of our community, and to prepare him for citizenship.

VII.

Dad, I am growing tired of all these new names appearing in the newspapers. I hope the map of Europe will soon be restored to what we learned in our geography.

You are away off the track, Bobbie, if you think the map of Europe is to be returned to its old boundary lines and colors. You and I, and the American people, must make up our minds to learn many new facts about European geography, and we cannot shut our eyes and say we will not learn. The United States, as the President has said in his "fourteen-point" speech, stands for changes in the map of Europe. It is our business to-day to learn of these new conditions.

Among the new features of European life we must now understand are the following:

1. Poland, a country whose government was overthrown more than a hundred years ago, but whose people have repeatedly tried to obtain their freedom from Austria, Prussia and Russia. We shall see a new republic of Poland soon, which will embody the long-wished-for liberty of her patriots.

2. The Czecho-Slovak republic, a country comprising many peoples formerly under the rule of Austro-Hungary. This new state has been recognized as independent, and its representatives only a short time ago adopted in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, a new Declaration of Independence.

3. The South Slavic State, or Jugo-Slavia (in their language *Jugo* means south). These include not only the Serbians, but also a number of smaller races which previously were a part of Austro-Hungary.

4. Ukrania, the southwestern part of Russia, inhabited by a branch of the Russian race. The Ukrainians desire a government of their own, because they feel they are different from the other Russians.

5. If you follow the peace terms you should also know something about Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, Finland, Esthonia, Courland, Lithuania, Roumania, Albania, and Armenia.

Remember, Bobbie, in speaking about these races, that they are not new, but that previously their national hopes and liberties have been crushed down by some of the stronger states. In some cases, like the Albanians and Roumanians, they are much older than the peoples who have subjected them. The war has been for many of them a war of liberation. The United States has stood for the "self-determination" of the smaller races of Europe. By self-determination we mean self-government, or the right of the people to settle their own form of government; or in Lincoln's phrase, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

But if our American nation is to play such a large part in securing liberty for all of these peoples, surely American citizens should study these matters. We should be able to locate them on the map, and to tell something about their history. We should understand where they came from, how they have suffered under misrule, and what they hope to be.

We can never go back to our old "don't-care" policy concerning European affairs. We shall help determine the future welfare of every country in Europe. It is a great responsibility we face; we must not enter upon it in ignorance or selfishness. The world is looking to us for guidance, and every American citizen will have a share in that guidance. Let us, Bobbie, take up the work seriously of trying to understand these new problems and of performing these new duties.

VIII.

What is meant, Dad, by the league of nations, and what will be its duties?

The peace congress must discuss many questions which will have a far-reaching effect upon the nations of the world. Its general principles have been stated from time to time by President Wilson, and his statements have been accepted in a general way by the Allied governments. If you will read again the points enumerated by the President you will notice that they must be worked out in great detail before they can be put into practice. Take, for instance, his statement favoring self-government for

Poland, and an outlet to the sea for the Polish state. The Peace Congress may be compelled to define the boundaries of the new Poland and determine how far it shall include the ancient territory of Poland, for some parts of that territory are to-day inhabited by Germans or Russians. The Congress must decide, also, how Poland shall get access to the Baltic Sea. Shall it be by taking a part of the German lands? Or shall it be by providing for the free navigation of the Vistula River? Each of the general terms of the President must be brought down to hard, cold facts by the action of the Congress.

And when the Congress has completed its work in detail, how shall it compel obedience to its decisions? What protection has the world that another war shall not follow? In 1815, after the conqueror Napoleon had been overthrown, the monarchs of Europe banded together to protect their thrones from popular revolution. To-day the free peoples of the world are called upon to unite in order to protect republican governments from militarism and from anarchy.

The league of nations will be an organization of self-governing states united in the work of keeping the world safe for democracy. Among its duties may be the following:

1. To enforce the peace terms in cases where they are not voluntarily accepted.
2. To preserve and protect the self-governing states created by the Congress.
3. To maintain an international power, either economic or military, that shall protect nations from attack just as our local police protect our citizens from harm.
4. To establish some form of court to which international disputes may be referred.
5. To establish an international legislature through which changes may be made in the organization of the league.
6. To develop throughout the world a sentiment in favor of international peace and international brotherhood, in the same way that nations have created a sentiment in favor of law and order in their own localities.

These, Bobbie, are some of the things we hope a league of nations may accomplish. For centuries people have talked of such matters, and our William Penn proposed such a plan. But militarists and conquerors have stood in the way of the success of any league of nations. To-day, when German militarism has surrendered to the self-governing communities of the world, it seems possible that the dream of peace may come true. You, Bobbie, and your friends, will reap the happiness of peaceful days which the warriors of the democracies have preserved for you.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON I.

1. Define the following terms: Restoration, restitution, reconstruction, indemnity.
2. Mention all the ways you can think of in which the war has changed your way of living? Which of the changes you have mentioned ought to be lasting? Which of the changes you have mentioned may properly be considered temporary?

3. The Civil War, like the great war that has just closed, was followed by a period of reconstruction. How long did the period last? What great problems faced the country at that time?

4. Look up the facts in regard to the destruction of the city of Louvain in Belgium. Would it be possible for the Germans ever to restore what was destroyed at this place?

5. Mention as many ways as you can think of in which the schools helped to win the war? In what ways can the schools help during the period of reconstruction?

6. Some people think that our country should go back to what it was before the war. Would this be possible? Would it be desirable?

7. What has our country done to help the war? Now that the war is over, what can America do to help Europe in its task of reconstruction?

QUESTIONS ON LESSON II.

1. A great teacher once said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Who are our neighbors? How can we become acquainted with the people of England and of France and of far-away Siberia? Are the Belgians and the Italians who have been fighting side by side with our boys in France our neighbors?

2. What would you do if you knew that the children in the next house were starving or freezing? Are our neighbors anywhere in the world suffering for lack of food and clothing? If so, where?

3. In what condition are the people in those parts of France and Belgium which were held by the Germans? What has happened to the houses in the regions where the battles were fought? What will the people of those districts do for shelter this winter?

4. Where is Poland? Serbia? Armenia? What has happened in these countries during the war? Find on the map the home lands of any other peoples who are in serious need of help? What do all these needy peoples lack? What can we do to help them? Can you find the pictures which show the need of help for the peoples of the war-desolated lands? Can you obtain any accounts of the ruin and waste of war and cases of individual suffering and destitution?

5. What will happen to the people in want in Europe if America does not help them? Do you want to help them? Will it be harder or easier to bring about peace in the world if whole nations are starving? Why? Would such woeful conditions in other lands have any effect upon our own country?

6. Can you think of any reasons why an American child should want to help the boys and girls of Poland, or of Serbia, or of Italy? What special reasons are there for helping the Belgians, or the French?

7. We all want to help. What can we share with the needy in other lands? What can we help buy for them? Can we easily send food and clothing directly to the people we would help? What societies and agencies stand ready to do this work for us? What can we do to promote the work of these societies?

QUESTIONS ON LESSON III.

1. Why did America, instead of Asia, Australia and Africa, have to make up the shortage of foods in Europe during the war?

2. In what ways did your own family save food for the Allies? Are you willing to keep up this saving?

3. What have we Americans gained by being more moderate in the use of some kinds of food and by learning to use a greater variety of foods? Of what benefit would be to us to continue some of these practices after war times?

4. The 20,000,000 tons of food which we are to send abroad is a great amount. A coal wagon holds one or two

tons. Imagine a line of coal wagons long enough to hold all of this great quantity. If a freight car holds twenty tons, how long a freight train would it take to carry this food?

5. Why do Holland and Switzerland have special need of food this winter?

6. Why does northern Russia lack food this winter? Tell what you can of the revolution which has been taking place in that country? How has it affected the supply of food? Look at the map of Europe and see if you can tell why northern Russia would have less food than southern Russia?

7. How much food was grown by the children of your school in war gardens last summer? Why should we plant these gardens again when spring comes? Tell of your own experiences in raising food?

QUESTIONS ON LESSON IV.

1. How long has it taken to send two million men to France? What is the largest number that we have sent in a single month? How does our present navy compare with our navy before the war? Make the same comparison on our merchant marine. At what places in Pennsylvania have ships been built?

2. Will it be more or less difficult to bring our men home than it was to send them to Europe? Why? Find out all you can about the number of European immigrants who came to America in the ten years before the war. From what countries in Europe did they come?

3. In what part of France are most of our soldiers? Have all the American troops in France actually engaged in battle? What kinds of work have been necessary to sustain the men on the fighting line?

4. At what American ports will our returning soldiers land? If men from Illinois land in New York, over what railroads will they travel to reach their home state? Work out the same problem for men from Oregon, from Oklahoma, and from Georgia.

5. What have the American Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus and similar organizations done to care for and protect our soldiers? Will there be further need for such organizations now that the actual fighting is over? What can we do to help them?

6. At the close of the Civil War in 1865 our country had under arms about the same proportion of its population that it has now. Find out all you can about how the soldiers of the Civil War were mustered out and returned to civil life. Will the task of disbanding our armies now be more or less difficult than in 1865? Why?

7. What have our men who have come from France learned in their expedition overseas? How shall we welcome them when they return? What ought we to do for those who have been maimed or crippled in battle? Do you think that the experiences of our men in the service make them better men than if they had stayed at home?

8. Ought we to plan to give military training to all young men in the future? Give reasons for your opinions.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON V.

1. Where can the Government find vacant land to offer the soldiers when they return? What kind of special training should many of the men receive in order to fit them to make good use of the farm land? Where can they get this training? Who should bear the expense?

2. What was meant during the war by non-essential industries? Can you name some of them? How did the Federal Government control these industries? Have the other industries had all the workmen they needed? Why are the farmers needing more help? Are more men needed in the coal mines?

3. What would have been the result if the overtime that was common in war-time had continued for several years: (a) for the workers themselves, (b) for their families? Name some of the advantages of the shorter workday: (a) for the employee, (b) for the employer.

4. Why were so many boys and girls employed in various industries during the war? Why is it necessary to stop this child labor at the earliest possible moment? Under what conditions are young people allowed to leave school and go to work for wages in this State? Why is the boy or girl who goes to work at fourteen soon left behind by the one who remains in school?

5. Why have so many women taken the places of men during the last year? Name some instances of this that you have seen. Which of these positions do you think will be given back to the men when they return? Why?

6. Has any construction work been held up in your community because of the war? What work might your city or village undertake at once? Has your county or state any such work in view? What might be done for the soldiers who need technical training to fit them for public or private employment?

QUESTIONS ON LESSON VI.

1. Why have people come from Europe to make their homes in the United States? Within recent years most of the immigrants have come from eastern and southern Europe instead of from western and northern Europe. Can you find out why?

2. Tell some of the advantages of having people of many nationalities in our country? Tell some of the disadvantages? Into what kinds of work have these newcomers entered in the greatest numbers? Have they been helped to find the occupations for which they were best fitted: (a) by the government; (b) by private associations?

3. Have you ever seen a newspaper published in this country in a foreign language? Have you seen foreign language signs over shop doors? Does the Board of Health in your town send out its orders in more than one language? Do any factories in your town post their signs in various languages, and use interpreters? Are there any parts of your town where foreign peoples live by themselves?

4. Why is it undesirable, either for the newcomer or for our country, that he should remain in ignorance of our language and our customs? By what means can we teach foreigners the English language and explain to them the privileges and duties of citizenship?

QUESTIONS ON LESSON VII.

1. Look at the map of Europe, and find the following: The Danube River, the Carpathian Mountains, Dantzic, the Gulf of Finland, Metz, the Vistula River, Riga.

2. Why is it important that all Americans should have a knowledge of the new nations that are now being organized in Europe?

3. Where is Poland? What three countries ruled the Poles before the Great War? What is the religion of most of the inhabitants of Poland? What are the religions of the three countries which have ruled the Poles for the last century? Name two Polish leaders who helped us in our War for Independence?

4. By what other name are the Czechs usually called? Look up the story of a great Czech religious leader who lived in the fifteenth century? By what countries will the Czecho-Slovak State be bounded?

5. Of what great empire were Finland, Esthonia, Cour-

land, Lithuania, and Ukrania part before the war? The Finns are different in race from the inhabitants of the other regions here named. Find out what you can of the history of Finland.

6. What do you understand by self-determination? What has our Declaration of Independence to say on this subject? Compare this with President Wilson's statements.

7. What do you think may happen at the Peace Settlement in the case of Alsace-Lorraine, the South Slavs, Constantinople?

QUESTIONS ON LESSON VIII.

1. This Peace Congress will not be the first one which has met to settle the affairs of the nations of Europe. The most famous previous one was the Congress of Vienna which met in 1815, just about one hundred years ago, at the end of another great war. That Congress was chiefly interested in giving back to the kings all of the countries which they had lost. What will be the difference in the purposes of the present peace conference?

2. Will the central government of the League of Nations have as much power over the members as our government at Washington has over the States? Give reasons for your answer.

3. Where should the capital city of the United States of all the world be located? Why? Will it be more difficult to unite the nations in a league than it was to form the union of the United States of America? Why?

4. Look up the history of the troubles in this country at the time of the adoption of our Constitution. Can you think of any similar troubles that may arise before we can secure a League of the Nations?

Notes from the Historical Field

"American Pioneer War Songs" is the title of the leading article in the *Catholic Educational Review* for February, 1919.

Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth College, has been given leave of absence to go to France in order to take charge of all the work in history to be given to American soldiers in France under the general army plans administration.

Prof. Carl L. Becker has prepared for *A League of Nations* (Volume 1, Number 6, August, 1918) a series of documents illustrating the German attempts to divide Belgium. The pamphlet contains a map showing the language distribution in Belgium. It sketches the history of the Flemish question, the German attempt to establish a Flemish University at Ghent, and similar German efforts to divide Belgium.

Prof. C. L. Martzolf, of Ohio University, contributes the first of a series of articles entitled, "The Deeper Meaning of the World War," to *The American Schoolmaster* for January, 1919. The same number contains a symposium upon federalized education in America.

"A Brief History of the War," by Frederic Duncalf, appears in the *University of Texas Bulletin* for June 20, 1918. The pamphlet containing ninety pages, includes eight chapters on the following topics: Conditions at the outbreak of the war; historical background of the war; the Austro-Serbian controversy; efforts to avert war and their failure; how the war began; the progress of the war; how the United States entered the war; the issues involved. A very brief bibliography is appended.

In pamphlet form, with an introduction by Edwyn Bevan, appeared "The Pan-German Programme," containing the petition of six associations,—the League of Agriculturists, the German Peasants' League, the Christian German Peasants' Unions, the Central Association of German Manufacturers, the Manufacturers' League, and the League of Middle-Class Citizens in the German Empire,—and the manifesto of the intellectuals. The latter document was signed by over 1,300 persons, including 510 college and university professors, schoolteachers, and clergymen. The documents show the hold which the Pan-German plan had upon all classes in Germany (New York, G. H. Doran; 10 cents).

"British and American Discords and Concords—A Record of Three Centuries" has been prepared by The History Circle and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons (price 75 cents). It is an attempt to rewrite the history of the relations of England and America from colonial times to the present day, and to view these relations from a broader point of view than that commonly adopted in American school textbooks.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has reprinted in pamphlet form his address delivered at the Reconstruction Conference of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at Atlantic City on December 5, 1918. In "Representation in Industry," Mr. Rockefeller urges the general adoption of a plan by which representative committees of employees are recognized by employers, a system of appeals for redress of grievances, and arbitration by governmental authorities. Such a plan, it is stated, permits (1) uninterrupted operation of plants, (2) improved working and living conditions, (3) close contact between employees and officers; (4) elimination at Ghent, and similar German efforts.

An interesting account and an official narrative of the most daring naval exploit of the war is to be found in "The Zeebrugge Affair" by Keble Howard (New York, G. H. Doran; 25 cents). Interviews with survivors are reproduced, a map and sketches illustrate the subject, the plain official records are given.

Among recent issues of "Iowa and War," published by the State Historical Society, are "The First Three Liberty Loans in Iowa," "Social Work at Camp Dodge," and "Organized Speaking in Iowa During the War."

"Secret Political Societies in the North During the [Civil] War," by Mayo Fessler, is the leading article in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIV, No. 3. After a brief introduction, Mr. Fessler treats in succession the Knights of the Golden Circle, the American Knights and Sons of Liberty, the Northwest Confederacy of 1864, treason trials in Indiana, and the Camp Douglas Conspiracy. The writer concludes that these dis-union societies were composed "chiefly of the more ignorant portion of the Democratic party, and the societies were regarded from the beginning by the leaders [Democratic] as a thorn in the flesh, which they tried to get rid of, but which they were forced to carry until the wound festered, and left a scar which did not disappear for a generation." "A dozen or more restless and unprincipled leaders in the Democratic party who saw their political influence rapidly waning, organized these secret societies and drew into their folds a large number of ignorant opponents of the administration, who were dazzled by the elements of secrecy. Encouraged by the mushroom growth of the order and desirous of immediate political power, these leaders, tempted by Confederate money, conceived, in conjunction with the Confederate commissioners, a treasonable plot to overthrow the government in the

northwestern States and organize the territory into a separate confederacy, or, failing in this, to throw the influence of these States to the south. It is not creditable that a tenth of the nominal membership of the order knew of the plans for the uprisings, and it is not at all probable that this tenth would have followed these leaders if the insurrection had actually broken out. From first to last these organizations were singularly lacking in energy and initiative."

Prof. D. R. Moore, of Oberlin College, has prepared two pamphlets published by the college upon the subject, "The War Aims of the Nations." In his treatment, Professor Moore has divided the war problems into sixteen subjects. On each one of these subjects he has printed in six parallel columns the expressions of President Wilson in his fourteen point speech; the Bolshevik proposals of December 2, 1917; the British labor war aims of December 17, 1917; Lloyd George's proposals of January 5, 1918; Von Hertling's proposals of January 24, 1918; and the suggestions of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference of February 22, 1918.

The parallel arrangement makes the comparison of these six documents easy and satisfactory. Appended to the comparative statements are quotations bearing upon French and Italian war aims and President Wilson's messages bearing upon the subject.

Among the recent publications of the United States Bureau of Education are the following: "Recent State Legislation for Physical Education" (Bulletin, 1918, No. 40), by T. A. Storey and W. S. Small; "Public Schools of Columbia, S. C." (Bulletin, 1918, No. 23); "Opportunities at College for Returning Soldiers," giving a list of institutions and facts concerning courses of study, tuition fees and scholarship at each.

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HISTORY TEACHERS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The following letter appears in *History* (London, January, 1919). It contains a point of view of interest and value to American history teachers as well as those of European states.

"SIR: 'A League of Nations' is on the lips of everyone and in the hearts of many. But most of us know all too little about any other nations than our own. If the League is to be a reality this must be changed; we must learn to understand something of the problems and aspirations, the difficulties and triumphs of our fellow-members.

"Full knowledge, of course, is a counsel of perfection, but the dense ignorance shown in the past—and too often in the present—with all its crops of prejudice, apathy, intolerance, and ill-will, can be, if we choose it, fought and to some degree mastered. No better weapon could be found than in the wise and large-hearted teaching of history. The history of Europe is, after all, essentially one, more intimately one perhaps than that of any other congeries of States equally diverse and equally vigorous ever known on the planet. All honor to the historians who have taught us this, from Carlyle—interpreter both of France and Germany to a generation accustomed to think of the first as a natural enemy, and not to think of the second at all—down to G. M. Trevelyan in our own days, English writer of the most thrilling of all works ever written on the Italian Garibaldi.

"But an enormous amount still remains to be done. Every teacher of history to-day has a heavy, if glorious, responsibility laid on him. Appealed to alike by reactionaries and faddists, overwhelmed too often by unwieldy classes and a crowded time-table, pestered by papers and parents, he must, if he is to rise to the height of his calling, thrust his way somehow through all obstructions, and make his scholars realize that the history of England, great as it is, is only part of something much greater, so great that England's own task cannot even be understood unless her children learn this and profit by the learning."

F. MELIAN STAWELL,

On behalf of a Committee of the League of Nations Union."

COMMUNICATION—REFERRED TO OUR READERS.

Editor THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

May I be permitted to suggest several things that I should like to see in THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK? One is an article on "the open-book test," which is frequently referred to, but which I have never seen illustrated. The other is a department for aid in pronunciation. Our text-books are at variance on such terms as Calais, and many a person hesitates to mention poilu or St. Mihiel for fear of blunder. Can you not help us in such a vital matter? A. T.

The *American Historical Review* for October publishes Samuel F. Bemis' "United States and Abortive Armed Neutrality of 1794," a study of the diplomatic situation leading up to Jay's Treaty, and expressly of Hamilton's part in this diplomacy.

In his excellent appreciation of Sir Walter Raleigh (*Blackwood's* for November), Charles Whibley says: "This great Englishman who, having many aims, fell not short of attaining them all—a true Elizabethan—faithful with equal mind to words and deeds. His death was noble for itself, and infamous only for those who compassed it."

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

GERARD, JAMES W. *Face to Face with Kaiserism*. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1918. Pp. 380. \$2.00.

Most of the readers of Mr. Gerard's earlier book, "My Four Years in Germany," will lay down its successor with a distinct sense of disappointment. What is new in it is not particularly important, and what is important is not new. The time has not yet come for him to tell everything he knows; for the rest, he apparently said his say in his first book. The present narrative is a collection of odds and ends; scraps from a diary, travelers' impressions, sketches of personalities, glimpses of court life, political opinions and the like, thrown together with little unity or skill. The author's extremely colloquial style is, if anything, carried even further in this second book. To write of "the good ship *Nutty* (Proprietor Ford)," the "nuttiest" of whose crew were to remain as a permanent committee, at a salary "paid by Ford—with washing and expenses" (page 85), is certainly beneath the dignity of the American Ambassador to the German Empire. Mr. Gerard did such admirable service for his country at Berlin that one dislikes to see him cheapen his office by this sort of thing, even after his retirement.

The four opening chapters deal with the question of responsibility for the war and its conduct. "How much was he [the Kaiser] responsible for what has happened—how much his General Staff?" (page 13). Now that William's extradition has become a live issue, the author's opinion on this question is a matter of great interest. Unfortunately it is not easy to discover just what his opinion is. At times it seems to be the autocratic "king business" that is to blame. Elsewhere one reads that "the one force in Germany which ultimately decides every great question, except the fate of its own head, is the Great General Staff" (page 35). As to the first of the two great crises that brought this country into the war, Mr. Gerard inclines to the belief that the Kaiser was personally responsible for the sinking of the "Lusitania," the order having been "given at a time when the Emperor dominated the General Staff, not in one of those periods . . . when the General Staff, as at present, dominated the Emperor" (page 43); if it is also true that "the Kaiser himself always felt in some vague way that his luck lay with America," and that "he himself was against anything that might lead to a break with this country," as Mr. Gerard surmises (page 35), there was a singular blindness to the obvious result of the imperial policy. In the matter of the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, the author decides "that while the Emperor was often in the background and seemingly not the most powerful factor in the situation, it was his system that dominated Germany, his spirit that bred the lust for military gain at whatever cost—even the respect of the whole civilized world" (page 56). When we have concluded that the blame properly falls on the individual, we remind ourselves that "it was the deciding vote of the Great General Staff that finally embarked the German nation on this dangerous course" (page 38). It must be confessed that at the end, the reader feels hardly nearer a solution than before. Why not admit that the tangle is in fact inextricable, and that the responsibility must justly fall alike upon the Prussian system of military autocracy and upon the monarch who was its logical product, and who in turn gave it its highest development?

Chapters V to VIII, inclusive, are excerpts from the au-

thor's diary, written during the period from June, 1915, to January, 1917. There is always a certain freshness about absolutely contemporary records of historical events, and the Ambassador's breezy comments are not lacking in lively interest. But the chief matters dealt with, German hatred of America on the score of exported munitions, the conflict between the policies of the Foreign Office and the Navy regarding submarines, and Mr. Gerard's efforts on behalf of British prisoners, have all been discussed more fully and satisfactorily in his previous book. Rumors and gossip of transitory value necessarily fill a good deal of space in the diary. Once in a while there is a vivid bit of characterization, as in the picture of the typical Prussian statesman who tries "to 'imponieren' by putting his voice two octaves lower and glaring at one like an enraged bullfrog."

The next six chapters deal with various aspects of German life and customs; the account of the Spartan ways of the typical Junker family will be new to many. Mr. Gerard thinks Treitschke, Bernhardt and Nietzsche negligible influences in the formation of the Prussian war-spirit; Tannenberg and the Pan-Germans with their realistic, concrete suggestions were of more importance in creating what came to be essentially a commercial ambition. He has a suggestive theory that "nations, like individuals, change in character with the stress of life," and that "the grasping, successful Prussian of 1914 was far removed from the ruined, chastened Prussian of 1810" (page 186), the materialistic prosperity that followed 1870 having done the damage. If victory produces materialism, and if idealism springs only from defeat and suffering, the warning for us is plain. In face of the endless procession of atrocities which have trooped through the pages of almost every descriptive war-book and which Mr. Gerard in no way minimizes, it is refreshing to hear his evidence of the better side of human nature, portrayed in letters from German soldiers and officers protesting bitterly against these very atrocities, which they have unwillingly witnessed.

Chapters XV to XXI describe political and economic conditions in Austria, Scandinavia, Switzerland, France and Spain, concluding with the author's return to America. He sympathizes with the difficulties of neutral nations, but thinks that the blockade and blacklist must continue none the less. Whether or not the ambitions of Sophie Chotek played as great a part in bringing on the war as Mr. Gerard seems to believe, is a matter of pure speculation. A much more tangible bit of pro-Germanism is the remark of Alfonso XIII: "Remember that while I am King of Spain, I am also an Austrian Archduke" (page 251). Attention should be called to the very definite specification of pro-German school text-books in Chapter XXI, though doubtless these have long since been removed from our class-rooms.

The remainder of the book is taken up with more or less desultory expressions of opinion about various phases of the war. The Crown Prince is presented in a somewhat more favorable light than usual, though he seems to be as chauvinistic as we had previously supposed.

While the book is too rambling and repetitious to be considered successful from a literary standpoint, and adds comparatively little to what the author has told us before, it does convey a real impression that in Mr. Gerard the country had an ambassador who was alert to what was going on about him, and very attentive to furthering his country's interests. He had an extremely difficult task in the presentation of the American standpoint, and he was burdened in addition with the duty of caring for the interests of other countries and their imprisoned nationals. This enormous responsibility he bore faithfully and administered well.

It should be added that the fac-similes and reproductions

of German publications lend an element of documentary value to the book, though they are of less historical importance than those accompanying "My Four Years in Germany."

Goucher College.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

HEARNshaw, F. J. C. *Main Currents in European History, 1815-1915*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. xv, 367. \$2.50.

In this century of European history the author finds three main currents: (1) The growth of the European community on the basis of a common civilization, and by means of an expanding body of international law, morality, and custom; (2) the operation of the spirit of nationality; (3) and the growth of democracy. These topics constitute the outline of the book. The countries are not treated one by one, and the development of each traced in turn, but Europe is treated as a whole and each country as it bears on the particular "main current" under discussion. The book grew out of a series of lectures delivered before an audience of teachers, and having for their purpose the "reducing a complex and confused century to comprehensible categories, of emphasizing its dominant characteristics, of rendering it more readily teachable."

It is a war book. Such topics as the Eastern Question, Serajevo, and Weltpolitik, receive attention, and the problem of an enduring peace is stressed. The first prerequisite for a permanent peace is the restoration of the European balance of power; the second is the reorganization of the continent along the lines of nationality; the third is the establishment of some sort of international government—legislative, executive, judicial—capable of formulating a law of nations, capable of enforcing it, capable of punishing such states as violate it. The author says, "On the possibility of constituting, not a League of Peace (for peace is not the highest interest of mankind), but a League of Law, depends the future of humanity."

It is a political history. The social and economic fields are practically untouched. To those who agree with this selection of "main currents" the book will make a strong appeal. It seeks to interpret rather than to recite the events of a century. It seeks to explain how the present European political society has evolved during the last hundred years and to make intelligible the international relationship at the beginning of the war.

The atmosphere of the book is wholesome. No present-day writer who feels in his own breast the significance of the Great War can cover the period treated by the author without going beyond the mere recital of facts. As to Germany, he shows how the will to power grew into plans for world empire; how the methods of selfish unrestraint supplanted the body of world law; and how the chances of war were deliberately elected to displace the progress of peace.

HENRY NOBLE SHERWOOD.

Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.

HARPER, FLORENCE MACLEOD. *Runaway Russia*. New York: The Century Co., 1918. Pp. ix, 321. \$2.00, net.

This is not so much a book about Russia as a book about an individual in Russia. It is a story of the personal adventures of an American woman who happened to be in Russia as a correspondent when the revolution broke out, and who remained until shortly before the fall of the Kerensky regime.

Such a narrative of incident and happening cannot fail to be interesting and informing. At the same time, one lays down this volume with a sense of disappointment, as of opportunity missed. The point of view is too exclusively per-

sonal, and often in discussion of public matters the tone is almost petulant. The ideas and opinions seem to reflect those of the foreign colony, particularly the transient foreign colony, who are near great events without being of them, who are in touch with policy without being thoroughly familiar with it or in position to influence it. Hence the book gives one the impression of a moving picture, a succession of scenes, those of rioting having a dull sameness, others being vivid or picturesque, most of them just entertaining. As the scenes pass in review, interest is aroused without being satisfied. The story is told, but not explained. Where an explanation is suggested, it fails to convince.

Through most of the book one looks in vain for any appreciation of what the business was all about. The reason appears to be that the matter was too personal. For example, at Kronstadt "we had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Rochol. He was the real political power." Here, one might expect a presentation of his personality and point of view. One would certainly expect, since his name was drawn in, some effort to make him a human figure. But, no, "I was too disgusted to be even interested in saying more than 'How do you do.' It isn't pleasant to be an imperialist in a hot-bed of socialism." The blight of being a socialist or otherwise personally distasteful falls over many other figures and makes of them nothing but names. In a sense this is true of Kerensky. Mrs. Harper disliked Kerensky heartily. There is only a word or two of praise, and that is faint; he was a selfish, weak, orating demagogue. "As a matter of fact, Kerensky was the friend of only one man—himself."

The book is remarkably well illustrated with pictures taken by Donald Thompson. They are distinctly out of the ordinary. The book itself reads easily, but even so, the sense of disappointment continues. It is more or less interesting to know that Mrs. Harper smokes cigarettes. Inclusion of the somewhat suggestive humor of the Russian officers with regard to her clothing may be justified as throwing some light upon their taste or morals. The idiosyncracies of Emmeline Pankhurst have furnished good copy before and still serve. But there are many things one would rather read about in a book on Russia.

Wesleyan University.

HENRY M. WRISTON.

COOPER, LANE, editor. *The Greek Genius and Its Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. 280. \$3.50.

The aim of this volume is to supply a part of the necessary background for the study of Greek and Latin masterpieces in good English translations and "in some fashion to promote the study of Greek in America." To accomplish these objects the editor has made a careful selection of twenty-two essays and extracts from among the ablest writers on Greece and its influence in the modern world.

The work is a composite one, but the discerning reader can readily follow the connecting threads which make the volume a unit. The first three selections deal with the external environment of the Greeks; selections four to eleven, inclusive, characterize the Greek race and portray Athens at the zenith of her power; the intermediate selections, twelve to fourteen inclusive, represent the connecting links between the ancient and the modern world; and the remaining selections are more directly concerned with modern times and the surviving elements of antiquity.

All selections are well chosen and with a discerning eye for literary merit. They vary widely in scope. Jebb, Allinson, Osgood, Zielinski, as well as Milton and Wordsworth, are drawn upon to illustrate the great influence of Greece in moulding civilization. A few of the more im-

portant titles will serve to indicate the great value of the work: Allinson on "External Nature in Greek Poetry;" Jebb on "The Age of Pericles;" Croiset on "The Greek Race and Its Genius;" Zielinski on "Our Debt to Antiquity;" Osgood on "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology." The longest and most important selection is from August Boeckh on "The Nature of Antiquity." This selection the author considers the keystone to the entire volume. Gildersleeve on "Americanism and Hellenism" is a delightful study of the kinship of Greece and America. "Hellas speaks to us with kindred voice, and looks into our eyes with kindred eyes." The introduction written by the editor on "The Significance of the Classics" is not least in importance.

Professor Cooper has rendered a distinct service to all lovers of Greece. He has brought together in compact form much of the best that has been written on the subject of Greek genius and its influence. The selections are rich in learning, and are interesting from beginning to end. They will serve the purpose which Professor Cooper had in mind when he compiled the volume, for they give a true impression of Greek genius.

Classical High, Worcester, Mass. ALBERT FARNSWORTH.

WORLD WAR ISSUES AND IDEALS. Readings in Contemporary History and Literature. Edited by Morris Edmund Speare and Walter Blake Norris, of the Department of English in the United States Naval Academy. Ginn & Co., 1918. Pp. xi, 461.

This little volume, containing nearly fifty selections from addresses and writings by recent or contemporary statesmen, soldiers, scholars, and men of affairs, is an effort to provide "the most effective method of furnishing, in a brief space of time and without the need of elaborate study, a comprehensive and well-rounded survey of the profound ideas whose significance now engages the attention of the entire thinking world." By setting forth these ideas in the form in which they have been given utterance by men whose names are on all lips, the editors hope the more readily to focus the attention and interest of students. The book was compiled as an aid in the study of the War Issues Course, which held so prominent a place in the curriculum of the late S. A. T. C., but it is equally available for use in the modified courses in contemporary history and world problems, which most colleges and universities are now offering in place of the War Issues Course; nor does it appear too advanced for use in the upper grades of the high school.

The selections are grouped in seven divisions, as follows: I. The Issues of the World War; II. The Atmosphere of the World War; III. The Spirit of the Warring Nations; IV. Democratic and Autocratic Ideals of Government; V. The New Europe and a Lasting Peace; VI. Features of American Life and Character; VII. American Foreign Policy. Among the individual selections may be noticed extracts from speeches by President Wilson, Lloyd George, and Elihu Root, and excerpts from such writings as "The Spirit of French Youth," by Maurice Barrès; "The British Commonwealth of Nations," by Jan C. Smuts; "The Idea of Liberty in France," by Emile Boutroux; "Nationality and the New Europe," by Archibald C. Coolidge; "Contribution of the West to American Democracy," by Frederick J. Turner; "The International Mind," by Nicholas Murray Butler; and "The Democratic Ideal in International Relationships," by Bainbridge Colby. Biographical paragraphs respecting the various writers are of much service in using the book, and several pages of notes and references for collateral reading, at the end of the volume, considerably increase the value of the book as a basis for reading and study.

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Van Vorst, Bessie. A popular history of France. N. Y.: Stokes. 171 pp. \$1.00, net.
Zielinski, Anthony J. Poland in the world of Democracy. St. Louis: La Ciede Pub. Co. 262 pp. \$1.00, net.

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Wisconsin University. War book of the University of Wisconsin; papers on the causes and issues of the war by members of the faculty. Madison, Wis.: Univ. of Wis. 266 pp. 50 cents.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Morse, Hosea B. The international relations of the Chinese Empire. Vol. 2. The period of submission, 1861-1893. Vol. 3. The period of subjection, 1894-1911. N. Y.: Longmans. 479, 530 pp. (5 pp. bibls.). Each \$8.00, net.
National Board for Historical Service. War Readings. N. Y.: Scribner. 265 pp. 75 cents.
Perry, W. J. War in civilization. N. Y.: Longmans. 27 pp. 60 cents, net.
Speare, Morris E., and Norris, W. B., editors. World War issues and ideals. Boston: Ginn & Co. 461 pp. \$1.40.
U. S. Library of Congress, Div. of Manuscripts. Check list of collections of personal papers in historical societies, university and public libraries and other learned institutions in the United States. Wash., D. C.: Gov. Pr. Off. 87 pp.

BIOGRAPHY.

- Eckenrode, Hamilton J. Life of Nathan B. Forrest. Richmond, Va.: B. F. Johnson Co. 186 pp. 50 cents.
Forbes, F. A. Life of Pius X. N. Y.: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 176 pp. \$1.25.
Wilson, Woodrow. Messages and addresses to the Congress and the people, Jan. 31, 1918, to Dec. 2, 1918, together with peace notes to Germany and Austria. N. Y.: Harper. 149 pp. \$1.00, net.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

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CONTENTS.

I. THE PEACE.

- 1a. Official American Views:
Woodrow Wilson
Henry Cabot Lodge
- 1b. Unofficial American Views
- 1c. Official Views of Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, Rumanians, Pan-Serbians, Greeks, Japan, and the Papacy
Premier of Great Britain
General
Other Declarations
- 1d. Unofficial Views in Allied Countries
- 1e. Official Views of the German Empire
- 1f. Anti-imperialist German Views
- 2a. Why America Desires a Just and Permanent Peace:
1. Ideals of Political Isolation and of Prosperity
2. Preoccupation with Mastering a Continent
3. Cosmopolitanism of American Society
4. Avoidance of Wars; Relations with Great Britain
5. Growth of World Peace Idea
- 2b. British and American Attitudes toward the Peace:
1. Freedom of the Seas
2. Colonial Acquisitions
- 2c. Proposal of Anglo-Saxon League
- 2d. Allied-American League of Peace
- 2e. League to Enforce Peace
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 - X. Public Administration
 - XI, XII. Housing, Education
 - XIII, XIV. Aliens, Legal
 - XV. Miscellaneous
- c. The United States
Suggestions on American Problems
- d. Magazine Articles

INTRODUCTION.

The war may be likened to a stupendous upheaval in the social world analogous to those cataclysms of nature which, in distant geologic ages, upraised the mountains. The social landscapes, distorted and shapeless during more than four years under the agonizing shocks of war, with the promise of peace are now settling into permanence. A period of orderly, evolutionary change following the recent convulsions, is devoutly hoped for by all well-wishers of the human race. Two great tasks incidental to the war remain to be achieved—first, a satisfactory general peace; second, a readjustment of life the world over to a peace basis, what is commonly called reconstruction. These things accomplished, a new historical epoch will be inaugurated for the world.

Educationally the war has proved as vitalizing an influence as in its general character it has been desolating; and probably no department of study and teaching has reacted to it more than history. The coming of the war was an event which had to be explained, if possible, and as the vast panorama of conflict spread itself before the gaze of the world the complex phases of the war itself began to be studied in special history courses.

With the fighting at an end, we shall soon outline the several outstanding campaigns, the gradual enlargement of the scope of the war, the elimination of Russia by revolution, and the entrance of the United States. We shall, of course, pay special attention to America's participation and to the subject of the peace, because to the American people generally a just and enduring peace was the principal object of the war.

The peace is not yet won. But there is a considerable literature that will supply a background of information to enable students (a) to follow intelligently the course of negotiations in Paris, and (b) to understand the new national and international arrangements to be effected as a fundamental step toward the new world order. Likewise, the programs of social reconstruction developed in the several countries of Europe, will supply valuable information toward an understanding, first, of the internal condition of the countries emerging from the war, and, second, of the general tendencies, social and commercial, with which the new age will be dowered as the child of this war time.

These considerations led to the preparation of the lists printed in this pamphlet so as to facilitate the work of college teachers in planning courses of study. They may also prove useful to high school and other teachers particularly in giving definiteness to the study of current history.

PLAN AND SCOPE OF THE LIST.

The list was planned with special reference to its usefulness for teachers. Therefore, the number of titles included has been rigorously limited. One of the serious problems encountered was that of selecting desirable material from extended lists of books, pamphlets and magazine articles. The principles of selection followed are indicated by the scheme of the arrangement.

While materials were usually found in too great abundance, in a few cases of actual scarcity it was possible to refer to valuable essays, and to books which will be published shortly. Several of the committees representing new European states were kind enough to agree to publish pamphlets bringing together the documents illustrating the history of their states and the views of their respective peoples with reference to the peace.

The makers of this bibliography are keenly alive to its shortcomings and deficiencies. It has not been possible, in the time at their disposal, to read fully all the items listed. Not all parts of the field are covered with equal thoroughness, nor has it been possible in every case to list all of the best material; the question of accessibility has sometimes been the determining one, rather than the principle of listing the ideally best. The compilers hope the list may prove useful to those for whom it is primarily intended, teachers in colleges and other advanced schools giving courses bearing upon the war.

SUGGESTED WAYS OF USING THE LIST.

Aside from the use of the list as a mere help in finding material on the several topics illustrated, it is hoped that it may afford some guidance in the preparation of definite syllabi for courses of study. While it is not desired to mark out any hard and fast lines along which teachers should proceed in making such courses, definite suggestions on the part of those who have considered the matter may prove helpful in stimulating others to work out detailed courses for themselves. The materials herewith presented seem to lend themselves to the development of at least six courses in two groups, a government group and a history group. Each group might be organized as a single course in three sections, or six distinct courses might be planned as follows: (1) the building of governments, (2) the philosophy of the state, (3) leading principles of political science, practically considered, (4) American history, (5) recent European history, (6) history of democracy during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

THE GOVERNMENT GROUP.

1. *Structure of Government.*—When time gives a true perspective of the events of the past five years, it will perhaps appear: (a) that states have undergone revolutionary changes in structural organization; (b) that, subject to the principles of democracy which are held more uncompromisingly than ever before, the world regards every question of detailed organization as open to fresh determination on reason-

able grounds, the dead hand of tradition being for the moment cast off; (c) that the reshaping of governments newly emerged from the great conflict will usher in an era of constitution-making which may prove to be as notable as that in which our own governmental system was framed. For all these reasons, much attention should be devoted to government building, conceived as a means of preparing highly trained citizens for intelligent support or helpful criticism of our own government in its several functions of legislation and administration, and in the operation of its laws and policies upon the complex life of the people; and for direct participation in public service.

Fortunately, the group of new books listed under 3 a, 1, will make possible the outlining of a good course by any teacher seriously disposed to take advantage of what seems like an extraordinary opportunity. Current periodicals should be employed and the classes kept on the qui vive to learn the latest development of constitution-making efforts in Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Austria, Germany, Russia (and the countries formerly Russian); and the changes wrought by the war in the governments of the supposedly settled democratic states.

2. *Philosophy of the State.*—A teacher in one of our colleges suggests a course under five heads, as follows:

- I. *Human Rights:* (a), Physical struggle as a criterion of fitness, to be discussed on the basis of Darwin and Huxley; (b), the idea of natural rights, as developed by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Tom Paine, and as illustrated by a well-known series of liberty documents.
- II. *The Rights of Property:* Discussion based on Aristotle's *Politics*, Bk. 6, II, and on Locke as a background, with Hobhouse's *Liberalism*, Cole's *The World of Labor*, and the British Labor Party's *Report on Reconstruction* as types of present-day thought on the subject.
- III. *Equality; Social Democracy:* Race problems.
- IV. *Liberty and Authority:* Political democracy in its philosophical aspects.
- V. *Morality and Statecraft:* The ethical, psychological and economic forces of history.

He suggests the use of Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Seligman's *The Economic Interpretation of History*, and Moore, *American Diplomacy*.

3. *Political Science Practically Considered.*—The principles which are basic in the re-establishment of peace on an enduring foundation are also basic in the science of government. By taking the American points as the outline, the teacher can readily build up a course of study to be pursued for a term if desired, or for a shorter time, as a feature in some more comprehensive scheme of political studies. The materials listed under I a, supplemented from the list under 3 a, 1, should furnish adequate texts for study and discussion.

THE HISTORY GROUP.

4. *America's Newer History*.—The textual basis might be furnished by any one of half a dozen recent books on American history, care being taken to select one by an author with the social point of view as well as a firm grasp of the main facts and some appreciation of their relative significance. With such a book as guide, and with a judicious use of the materials under II a, a peculiarly vital study of American history could be arranged for under the heads indicated by the numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, with the addition perhaps of other topics, as follows:

6. The Great War, attitude of neutrality, results.

7. America's part in the war. (Here McMaster's new book (III b) will furnish an abundance of well-ordered material as far as it goes and it could be supplemented with current magazine material.)

8. President Wilson's statement of America's peace aims and how the world regards them. (Wilson's speeches and the "Cosmos" Letters will give Wilson's views; views of America's aims can be derived from the citations under I c. This section also offers an opportunity to connect current events with the history course. The use of a standard, forward looking weekly or monthly magazine is recommended.)

5. *Recent European History*.—The second course might take the form of the already familiar course on "Backgrounds of the Great War," which needs no further outlining; or it might consist in a somewhat more specialized study of the problem areas, their histories, and the evolutionary processes which each has undergone in reaching its present status and developing its aims with reference to the peace. Such a study, based on books selected from the general histories and from the regional histories listed under III a-5 should prove both practicable and valuable.

6. *The History of Democracy*.—The third historical course would refer mainly to the 19th and 20th centuries, with some attention to the French Revolution as a world influence, the American Revolution, and the English industrial revolution as contributing and modifying factors. It would involve the careful outlining of topics treated in the general histories, especially those illustrating the great democratic movements of the 19th century in European states. It would also involve arrangements for the rather special study of English constitutional history, French, American and Italian political history, with emphasis both on what was done and what projected in the writings of such prophets of democracy as Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson and Mazzini.

In the study of German political history the problem will be to see how the democratic philosophy of Kant gave way under the pressure of the autocratic militaristic state system of Prussia, which, however, was negatively responsible for the development of so-called scientific socialism, one of the influences affecting the democracy of the last 75 years and especially responsible for present conditions in Russia and elsewhere. Section III will be the main resource here, but the culmination of the study should be found in a consideration of the views concerning a just and

lasting peace. Special attention will of course be given to the now widely accepted view that democracy to be complete and permanent must have both a political, a social and an economic aspect, views which will be found in the President's writings and in such books as those by Hobson, Veblen and others cited under II a.

British material on reconstruction is both more abundant and more accessible than French, Italian or German material. Moreover, the British Government, through its ministry of reconstruction, has formulated a reconstruction program which makes it perhaps the most illuminating of all for purposes of study. We have therefore included in the present list a considerable body of British material, together with such beginnings of a reconstruction literature in the United States as existed at the time the compilation was made. Attention should be called to the fact that since November 11, the date of the signing of the armistice, newspapers and magazines have been producing reconstruction literature at a rapid rate. The current magazines, especially, should be consulted by the teacher both for reconstruction material and for material on the peace.

I. THE PEACE.

NOTE.—In order to make this list measurably complete the user should co-ordinate with it C. e. 17 "Bibliography No. 1," published by the Committee on Education and Special Training, War Department, and especially C. e. 21, "Questions on the Issues of the War," which provides an annotated analytical book list of considerable scope.

1a. OFFICIAL AMERICAN VIEWS.

Wilson, Woodrow, President of the United States.

COSMOS, pseudonym. The Basis of Durable Peace. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. ix, 144 p. 18½ cm.

A series of letters written at the invitation of the New York Times and published in the Times in November and December, 1916. The final paper appeared on December 18, 1916, the day on which the President sent the identic note to the belligerents on the subject of peace aims. It is clear from internal evidence that the Cosmos letters constitute an excellent commentary on the President's peace views.

GAUSS, CHRISTIAN FREDERICK. Democracy To-day; an American Interpretation. . . . Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1917. 2 p. l., 7-296 p. 17 cm. (Lake English Classics.) \$0.40.

HARRIS, H. WILSON. President Wilson, his Problems and his Policy: an English View. New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1917. 278 p. 19½ cm.

HOW THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917. 32 p. (Committee on Public Information, Red, White and Blue Series, 1.)

Contains the President's addresses of January 22, April 2 and June 14, 1917. Obtainable from World Peace Foundation (per 100, 8 lbs. at parcel-post rates.)

FORD, GUY STANTON, editor. The War Message, and the Facts behind It. Annotated text of President Wilson's message, April 2, 1917. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917. 28 p. (Committee on Public Information, War Information Series, 1.) Obtainable from World Peace Foundation (per 100, 7 lbs. at parcel-post rates.)

IN OUR FIRST YEAR OF WAR. Messages and addresses to the Congress and the people, March 5, 1917, to January 8, 1918. . . . New York, Harper & Brother, 1918. 5 p. l., 166 p. front. 18 cm. \$1.00.

THE NEW FREEDOM. A call for the emancipation of the generous energies of a people. New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913. lx, 294 p. 19½ cm.

This will furnish a background for the study of Wilson's view on the peace, particularly in its relation to democracy.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S FOREIGN POLICY. Messages, addresses, papers, edited with an introduction and notes by James Brown Scott. New York, Oxford University Press, 1918. xiv p., 1 l., 424 p. 25½ cm.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S GREAT SPEECHES and other History Making Documents. Chicago, Stanton and Van Vliet Co., 1918. 323, [17] p. incl. facsim. ill. 19½ cm.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S STATE PAPERS AND ADDRESSES. Introduction by Albert Shaw, . . . with editorial notes, a biographical sketch and an analytical index. New York, George H. Doran Company, 1918. xiv, 484, [x] p. 21 cm.

RECENT ADDRESSES AND PAPERS: Liberty Loan Address, September 27, 1918 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918. 8 p.); October, 1918, correspondence with the chancellor of the German Empire; Address to Congress on armistice terms, November 11, 1918; the Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1918; Speeches in France, England, Scotland, Italy; see current papers and magazines.

WAR, LABOR AND PEACE. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917. 43 p. (Committee on Public Information, Red, White and Blue Series, 9.)

Contains America's reply to the Pope's peace proposal, August 27, 1917; address to American Federation of Labor, November 12, 1917; and addresses to Congress of December 4, 1917, and February 11, 1918. Obtainable from World Peace Foundation (per 100, 12 lbs at parcel-post rates).

WAR ADDRESSES. With an introduction and notes by Arthur Leonard. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1918.

Lodge, Henry Cabot, senator from Massachusetts, Republican member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Congressional leader of the Republican party.

WAR ADDRESSES, 1915-1917. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917. viii, 303 p. 22 cm.

Contains, among other items, a discussion of "The President's Plan for a World Peace," and "The Failure of the Executive to Vindicate American Rights."

"THE GENERAL ARBITRATION TREATIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE," speech in Senate, February 29, 1912. (62d Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Doc. 353.)

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE. (62d Cong., 3d Sess., House Doc. 1268.)

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE. With illustrations. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913. vii, 136 p. 20½ cm.

An elaboration of earlier speeches and articles. The author here sketches the history of the relations between the United States and Great Britain during the century since the war of 1812. This item will furnish a background for the study of Mr. Lodge's views of the peace.

"PEACE TERMS," speech in Senate, August 23, 1918. (*Congressional Record*, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 56, No. 195, 10220-10221.)

Outlines the peace terms which America should help to secure after the defeat of Germany.

1b. UNOFFICIAL AMERICAN VIEWS.

ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM. *The Road Towards Peace:* a contribution to the study of the causes of the European war and of the means of preventing war in the future. New and Enlarged Edition. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. 268 p.

Addresses, correspondence and newspaper articles.

HILL, DAVID JAYNE. *The Rebuilding of Europe.* New York, The Century Company, 1917. 289 p.

Develops the theory that Europe's heritage of evil lies in the doctrine of absolute sovereignty and that in the interest of future peace the nations must agree to modify this doctrine. The author represents in this a considerable school of political writers.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1917-. Bimonthly. 20½ cm.

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE. A Reference Book for Speakers. New York, League to Enforce Peace, 1918. 64 p. 17½ cm.

POWERS, HARRY HUNTINGTON. *The Great Peace.* New York, The Macmillan Company, 1918. xi, 333 p. 20½ cm.

An incisive discussion, thorough and realistic, of the interests of each belligerent in the forthcoming settlement. Emphasizes economic and geographic facts, but does not neglect those which are racial and cultural; skeptical about a League of Nations.

1c. OFFICIAL VIEWS OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY, CZECHO-SLOVAKS, POLES, RUMANIANS, PAN-SERBIANS, GREEKS AND JAPAN; THE POPE'S PEACE VIEWS.

Lloyd George, David, Premier of Great Britain.

SPEECH of December 14, 1917, on "Victory or Defeat"; "Great Britain's War Aims," speech, January 5, 1918, American Association for International Conciliation, Bulletin No. 123.

BRITISH WAR AIMS, January 5, 1918. Authorized version as published by the British Government. New York, George H. Doran Company, 1918.

PEACE PROPOSALS AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE ALLIES. . . . December 19, 1916. London, Hayman, Christy & Lilly, Ltd., 1916.

SMUTS, JAN CHRISTIAN. *War Time Speeches.* London, 1917.

General.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS BEARING UPON THE EUROPEAN WAR. American Association for International Conciliation. New York, Substation 84.

Series No. I (October, 1914, No. 83), the Austro-Hungarian note to Serbia, the Serbian reply, the British White Paper, German White Book.

Series No. II (November, 1914, No. 84), Speech of the imperial chancellor to Reichstag, August 4, 1914, speech of the prime minister to the House of Commons, August 6, 1914; Russian Orange Book, and other documents.

Series No. III (December, 1914, No. 85), The Neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg; address of the president of the Council to the French Senate, August 4, 1914; official Japanese documents, German emperor's addresses to the people.

Series No. IV (January, 1915, No. 86), The Turkish official note, November, 1914; speech of the chancellor to the Reichstag, December 2, 1914, and the Belgian Gray Book.

Series No. V (February, March, 1915, Nos. 87, 88), The French Yellow Book.

Series No. VI (April, 1915, No. 89), The Austro-Hungarian Red Book.

Series No. VII (May, 1915, No. 90), The Serbian Blue Book.

Series No. VIII (August, 1915, No. 93), The Italian Green Book.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS LOOKING TOWARD PEACE. American Association for International Conciliation. New York, Substation 84.

Series No. I (January, 1917, No. 110), Speech of the imperial chancellor to the Reichstag Commission, November 9, 1916; notes of the Central powers; replies of the Allied nations; German note concerning replies from Entente, January 11, 1917; Speech of Viscount Grey before the Foreign Press Association, October 24, 1916.

Series No. II (February, 1917, No. 111), President Wilson's note to the belligerent nations, December 18, 1916; German note of December 26, 1916, in reply; Entente Allies' reply to President Wilson's note, January 10, 1917; note in amplification of above sent by Great Britain (the Balfour note) January 13, 1917; Wilson's address to the Senate, January 22, 1917.

Series No. III (October, 1917, No. 119), The Pope's message on peace; The American reply; The German reply; The Austrian reply.

Other Declarations.

SECRET TREATY WITH ITALY. Text of the pact made by Italy and the Entente, April 28, 1915, prior to that nation's entrance into the war. New York Times Current History, XIV, 494-497; *The New Europe*, VI, 24-27; Full texts of the Secret Treaties (New York, Evening Post, 1918).

This treaty was published by the Bolshevik government of Russia. It will be enlightening to the student to compare this treaty in the unofficial text with the draft of treaty sent by the Italian minister for foreign affairs on April 8, 1915, for presentation to the Austro-Hungarian Government (Austro-Hungarian Red Book, No. CXLI; Italian Green Book, No. 64). Affects the relations of Italy with Greece and the Jugo-Slavs, but see also Steed, Henry Wickham, "A Programme for Peace—Revised," *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1918. Gives the substance of Italy's agreements with the Jugo-Slavs and shows how the Italian Government has been induced by public opinion to recede from its earlier territorial demands.

THE DECLARATION OF CORFU, July 20, 1917. For this Jugo-Slav "declaration of independence" see Savic, Vladislav R., South Eastern Europe (New York, 1918), Introduction; *Congressional Record*, June 10, 1918, 8233.

See also "Enemy Press Comment on Italian Foreign Policy," *The New Europe*, 26 September, 1918, VIII, No. 102, pp. 263-264. For a summary of the effect of this declaration on Italy, see Steed, Henry Wickham, "A Programme for Peace—Revised," *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1918.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY of the Origin of the Jugo-Slav State. Pamphlet published by the Jugo-Slav National Council, Southern Building, No. 702, Washington, D. C.

CZECH FOREIGN COMMITTEE, Declaration of, at Paris, November, 1915. Published by the Bohemian National Alliance, 3734 West 26th Street, Chicago, Ill.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK NATION, Declaration of Independence of, by its Provisional Government. Published in American papers of October 19, 1918.

See also Benes, Edvard, "Bohemia's Case for Independence." Introduction by Henry Wickham Steed. Map and Bibliography. London, George Allen, and Unwin, 1917. 129 p.

MASARYK, TOMAS GARRIGUE, "Bohemia and the European Crisis," *The New Europe*, Vol. II, 33-47 (January 25, 1917). With racial map.

Masaryk is the official head of the recently formed Czecho-Slovak nation. See also President Wilson's reply

to Austrian peace plea, October 19, 1918, which recognizes the new Czecho-Slovak state.

POLAND. See pamphlet containing the official documents published by the Polish Association Press, Union Trust Co. Bldg., 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

RUMANIAN PEACE AIMS STATED AND SUPPORTED.

See the Rumanian Green Book. Also, see Rumania's declaration of war against Germany, November 7, 1918, current news dispatches.

GREECE. See Ion, Theodore P., "The Vindication of Greece," *Journal of Race Development* (Clark University), January, 1919.

This article is based on official information and sets forth the official views of the present Government of Greece in relation to the peace. See also

STEPHANAPOLI, JEANNE, "The Greeks in Turkey," *The New Europe*, November 14, 1918, Vol. IX, No. 109, pp. 110-115. Contains considerable statistical material relating to the Greek population of the dispersion.

"RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND ITALY," *The New Europe*, 19 September and 20 October, 1918.

Looks forward to an entente between these two countries.

JAPAN. Treat, Payson Jackson. Japan, America and the Great War. Boston, World Peace Foundation (in press).

1d. UNOFFICIAL VIEWS IN ALLIED COUNTRIES.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY AND ALLIED GROUPS, War Aims and Peace Plans of, *New Republic*, March 23, 1918. Supplement entitled, "Labor's War Aims." Full text of the agreement on war aims adopted by the Interallied Labor and Socialist International Conference in London.

FAYLE, CHARLES ERNEST. The Great Settlement. London, John Murray, 1915. ix, 309, [1] p. incl. 8 maps. 19 cm. Advocates (a) a rearrangement of frontiers on natural lines, having respect to nationality; (b) a league to secure (not enforce) peace by treaty guarantees; (c) "consideration and delay," a means of avoiding possible wars. The general aim should be toward a settlement in which the "might of right" prevails over the "right of might." Idealistic, but not visionary.

ITALIAN SOCIALIST OPINION. See Steed, *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1918, as above.

LANSDOWNE, HENRY CHARLES, MARQUESS OF. The Aims of the War. Letter to the *London Daily Telegraph*, November 29, 1917, with "Cosmos" reply, and President Wilson's speech of December 4, 1917, American Association for International Conciliation, January, 1918, No. 122.

SEIGNOBOS, CHARLES, "The Society of Nations, and its Price," *The New Europe*, IX, No. 109, p. 104-110 (November 14, 1918).

This celebrated French historian believes the League of Nations will be adopted, but that it will have to be imposed on very powerful individuals, and the price to be paid will be the renunciation by the state of its absolute sovereignty in foreign affairs.

STEED, HENRY WICKHAM, "A Programme for Peace—Revised," *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1918, p. 209-229.

Sums up peace program under 19 points which in most respects tally with Wilson's 14 points. Accepts Wilson as the real leader of the European masses in their yearning for a peace which shall have the elements of permanence.

THOMAS, ALBERT, "The League of Nations," *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1918.

M. Thomas, who is a leader of the moderate socialists, presents in spirited and even eloquent language the argument both for a League of Peace and a League to Enforce Peace. His attitude is representative of socialist opinion generally.

1c. OFFICIAL VIEWS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

See Official Documents Looking Toward Peace, as outlined above, 1 c.

1f. ANTI-IMPERIALIST GERMAN VIEWS.

"PEACE WITHOUT ANNEXATIONS OR INDEMNITIES." See New York Times Current History, XI, p. 426 ff., June, 1917.

Contains extracts from Scheidemann's speech in the Reichstag in which he denounced the German annexationists as an "organized gang of robbers."

2a. WHY AMERICA DESIRES A JUST AND PERMANENT PEACE.

1. Ideals of Political Isolation and of Prosperity through World Trade.

See Tom Paine's *Common Sense*; Washington's *Neutrality Proclamation*; Jefferson's *Inaugurals* on Entangling Alliances; Crèvecoeur, Hector St. John de, *Letters of an American Farmer* (London, 1782). Essential quotations in Tyler, M. C., *The Literary History of the American Revolution*; Latané, John Holladay, *From Isolation to Leadership* (New York, Macmillan, 1918), 215 p. Latané's book gives a review of American foreign policy; brief, but lucid and helpful.

2. Preoccupation with the Task of Home-making, and incidentally Mastering a Vacant Continent.

See especially, TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Am. Hist. Assn. Rept., 1893; *The New West, American Nation Series* (Harpers, 1906); "Social Forces in American History," Am. Hist. Rev., January, 1911, Vol. XVI, 217-233; "The Old West" (Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1909); "Pioneer Ideals" (Ind. Univ. Bulletin, VIII, 6); "Middle West" (*International Monthly*, IV, 808); "Contributions of the West to American Democracy" (*Atlantic*, XCI, 83); "The First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XVII, 250-271; "The West and American Ideals," University of Washington, *Historical Quarterly*, V, 243.

Professor Turner is the writer who, more than any other, succeeds in interpreting American history from the point of view of American life, and this he examines in the spirit of the evolutionary scientist by beginning with the simpler forms found on the several frontiers, by tracing the frontier movement geographically, and by following the course of development in given areas from frontier conditions to those of maturer societies. His essays are widely scattered and ought to be brought together in a single convenient collection.

JAMESON, JOHN FRANKLIN, "Typical Steps in American Expansion," *History Teacher's Magazine*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 39-43 (February, 1914).

Describes American expansion, despite its occasional clashes with other powers, as mainly a "natural economic and social development, on the part of men chiefly engaged in the great human occupation of making a quiet living."

SCHAFER, JOSEPH, "Historic Ideals in Recent Politics," Annual Report, Am. Hist. Assn., 1916, Vol. I, pp. 459-468.

Emphasizes the significance of the ideals of isolation, hospitality to outsiders, particularly the oppressed of all lands, of good living or frontier abundance gained through access to a treasury of free natural resources, and democracy. Connects the maintenance of isolation with desire for peace.

TRIMBLE, WILLIAM J., "The Influence of the Passing of the

Public Lands," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1914. p. 755-767. A brief but comprehensive survey.

POWERS, HARRY HUNTINGTON. *America Among the Nations*. New York, 1917.

Takes the ground that Americans have been in fact strongly imperialistic but surprisingly unconscious of that fact.

3. *The Cosmopolitanism of American Society; Relations with European Society.*

PRESIDENT WILSON'S "Address to the American People," August, 1914, in Harris, H. W., *President Wilson from an English Point of View* (New York, 1917), p. 153.

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE. *Democracy in America*. Classical work on the America of the first half of the nineteenth century.

BRYCE, JAMES. *American Commonwealth*, especially II, pts. IV, VI.

Good, brief statement by a high authority.

SHALER, NATHANIEL SOUTHGATE. *Nature and Man in America*.

Partly obsolete, but still valuable for the most part.

COMMONS, J. R. *Races and Immigrants in America*. New York, 1915.

A useful analysis, with equipment of maps, charts, etc.

4. *Avoidance of Wars; Relations with Great Britain.*

ADAMS, EPHRAIM DOUGLASS. *Great Britain, America and Democracy*. World Peace Foundation, 1919.

A brief informative statement.

ANDREWS, MATTHEW PAGE. *A Heritage of Freedom, or the Political Ideals of the English-Speaking People*. New York, George H. Doran Company, 1918. xiii, p., 1 l., 17-110 p.

Especially pp. 70-96, *A Century of Anglo-American Disagreements Settled by Discussion and Arbitration*.

BEER, GEORGE LOUIS. *The English Speaking Peoples*. New York, 1917.

A valuable study by a competent historian of the relations between the United States and Britain.

DUNNING, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD. *The British Empire and the United States*.

Devotes particular attention to the disputes between the two powers and the methods by which these were settled peacefully. Chapter VII, "Venezuela and After," is of the highest interest as revealing the "will to peace" on the part of both nations.

LODGE, HENRY CABOT. *One Hundred Years of Peace*. See *supra*, 1a.

POWERS, HARRY HUNTINGTON. *America and Britain*. New York, 1918.

A concise survey of the relations of these two peoples with the aim of showing that for partly unconscious racial and cultural reasons Britons and Americans have long since decided to live in peace, or at least without wars.

5. *Growth of the World Peace Idea; America's Interest in it.*

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. List of Publications. July 1, 1918. No. 6.

Can be procured at office of the Secretary, No. 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Much valuable documentary material. Many of the publications are issued for gratuitous circulation.

KREHBIEL, EDWARD BENJAMIN. *Nationalism, War, and Society*. New York, 1916.

This is a comprehensive syllabus, with references, covering Nationalism, its Character, Fallacies, and Faults, Modern Political and Social Changes and their Reaction

on National Rivalries, and Progressive Forces which seek to overcome the Faults of Nationalism and Establish an Order of Things in Agreement with the Evolution of Society. A useful handbook. Of especial interest are his sections XXV (pp. 212-218) on Miscellaneous Projects for Peace through Diplomacy; XXVI (pp. 219-226) on International Organization and Federation—The Limitation of National Sovereignty; XXVII (pp. 227-231) on Miscellaneous Forces Working for the Improvement of International Relations; XXVIII (pp. 232-241) on Schemes for Diminishing the Chance of War and for Compelling Nations to Keep the Peace; and XXIX (pp. 242-249) on Education and Peace.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION. List of Publications.

2b. GREAT BRITAIN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PEACE;
DIVERGENCE FROM AMERICAN OFFICIAL VIEWS.

1. On Freedom of the Seas.

FIENNES, GERARD. *Sea Power and Freedom, A Historical Study*; with an Introduction by Bradley Allen Fiske. . . . New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. xvi, 1 l., 374 p. ill. 24 cm.

Depicts the career, mainly, of the British navy, and develops the thesis that there is something in sea-power and in the traditions of the sea which develops a fine sense of the significance of freedom. Argues that Britain has conferred on the whole world the boon of maritime freedom. A well-written, interesting book and apparently adequate.

PHILLIPS, WALTER ALISON. "President Wilson's Peace Program and the British Empire," *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1917, Vol. 225, 227-248.

SCOTT, WILLIAM ROBERT. *Economic Problems of Peace After War*. London, 1917.

Among the six lectures in this volume, mostly on reconstruction problems, is one entitled: "Communications of a Maritime State." In this Mr. Scott treats of the service Britain has rendered to the world by keeping the paths of the sea open. "That the seas have become safe for international commerce is a great, but almost unrecognized work of the navies of the maritime powers and in a high degree of Great Britain. Thus there has grown up what may be called for brevity the modern custom of the sea; and in my view, it has been one of the greatest errors of Germany that this has been violated by the inhumanity of her submarine operations and the policy of indiscriminate mine laying. . . . It is for the world to judge whether the law of the sea, by which Great Britain bound herself and which she enforces, is more conducive to civilization and progress than that which Germany proposes to substitute for it."

STEED, HENRY WICKHAM. "A Programme for Peace—Revised," *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1918.

Compare his nineteen points with Wilson's fourteen points.

WESTLAKE, JOHN. *International Law*. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1910.

Chap. VIII. The Open Sea. Clear statement by a British scholar of that part of international law, as it was prior to the present war, which applied to the open sea.

2. On Colonial Acquisitions.

"GERMANY'S AFRICAN COLONIES ALL LOST," *New York Times Current History*, Vol. XIV, 114-117, with map (January, 1918).

Reasons why they must not be given back to Germany are partly military—she could train a vast army of natives there. General Smuts wants a convention among those nations hereafter interested in Africa which would

absolutely forbid and prevent the military training of natives.

LLOYD GEORGE, DAVID, "German Colonies to Settle Own Future," *New York Times Current History*, Vol. XIV, 270.

Says in speech of January 5, 1918, before the Trade Union Conference on man power: "I have repeatedly declared that they [German colonies] are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies. . . . The inhabitants must be placed under an administration acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purposes will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or governments." This language might be interpreted to mean that Great Britain expects to be intrusted with the administration of these African colonies. But her spokesman does not claim this as a right based upon the British conquest.

2c. PROPOSAL OF AN ANGLO-SAXON LEAGUE, OR UNDER-
STANDING, IN THE INTEREST OF WORLD PEACE.

ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON, "An Immediate Anglo-Saxon League," *The New Europe*, Vol. VII, 74-79 (May 9, 1918).

BEER, GEORGE LOUIS. *The English-Speaking Peoples*. New York, 1917.

KENNEDY, SINCLAIR. *The Pan-Angles; a consideration of the federation of the seven English-speaking nations*. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1914. ix p., 1 l.; 244 p., fold. map. 23 cm.

POWERS, H. H. *America and Britain*. New York, 1918.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. Letter to Colonel Putnam, December, 1918.

In this letter Mr. Roosevelt pronounces in favor of an Anglo-American treaty to provide for the submission to arbitration of all causes of difference between the two nations which cannot be settled by diplomacy.

2d. THE ALLIES AND AMERICA SHOULD FORM A LEAGUE TO
MAINTAIN PEACE.

ASQUITH, HERBERT HENRY, "Restatement of Britain's Aims," *New York Times Current History*, XIV, p. 272 (December, 1917).

"A League of nations was no new idea, engendered in the stress and strain of war. . . . It was the avowed purpose from the very first so far as we here are concerned, of the Government, the people of the United Kingdom and of the Empire. It was the purpose for which we entered the war, the purpose for which we shall prosecute the war to its end. I wish it were possible, I hope it may be possible to bring home to the minds of all peoples—Allies, neutrals and the enemy—to make them realize that it is that, and nothing less than that, but nothing more than that, we are fighting for."

LLOYD GEORGE, DAVID. Speech of January 5, 1918.

WELLS, HERBERT GEORGE, et al., "The Idea of a League of Nations," *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1919.

Very significant, possibly the basis of British action at the peace conference.

WILSON, WOODROW. Various war addresses and peace addresses.

2e. THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE.

ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON, "British Empire and a League of Peace," *Nation*, Vol. 106, 392-394 (April 4, 1918).

AITKEN, GEORGE ATKINSON, "War Aims: A League of Nations," *The English Review*, XXVII, 167-183 (September, 1918).

ALVAREZ, ALEJANDRO, "Le Droit International de l'Avenir" 153 p. Price \$1.00.

- A valuable summary from the standpoint of all-America; ought to be translated.
- ALVAREZ, ALEJANDRO. "America and the Future Society of Nations," *Am. Soc. of Int. Law, Proceedings*, 1917 (Washington, 1918), p. 107-124.
- THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: Its Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations. New York, Oxford University Press, 1916. 125 p.
- BECKER, CARL. America's War Aims and Peace Program. C. P. I. War Information Series, No. 21. A convenient and well-written summary.
- BOURNE, RANDOLPH S., *comp.* Towards an enduring peace; a symposium of peace proposals and programs, 1914-1916. New York, American Association for International Conciliation, 1916. 336 p.
- BRYCE, JAMES, VISCOUNT, *et al.* Proposals for the Prevention of Future Wars. London, 1917. 53 p.
- HANDMAN, MAX. The Psychology of Nationalism. New York (in press).
- HOBSON, JOHN ATKINSON. Towards International Government. London and New York, Macmillan, 1915. 216 p.
- LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE. A League to Enforce Peace. Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1915. (Pamphlet Series, V, No. 5, Pt. I.)
- MOORE, JOHN BASSETT. "The Peace Problem." (64th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Doc. 700; *North American Review*, July, 1916, Vol. 204, 75-89.
- TAFT, WILLIAM HOWARD, AND BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS. World Peace; a Written Debate. New York, 1917. 150 p.
- SCOTT, JAMES BROWN. "International Organization: Executive and Administrative," *Am. Soc. of Int. Law, Proceedings*, 1917 (Washington, 1918), p. 101-107.
- ROOT, ELIHU. The Outlook for International Law. Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1916. 15 p. (Pamphlet Series, VI, No. 3.)
- ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. "The League to Enforce Peace," *Metropolitan*, February, 1917, XLV, 15-16, 66-69, 72.
- "A GERMAN PLAN FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS," *The Nation* (London), XXIII, 671-673 (September 28, 1918). For full text of the Erzberger plan see *War and Peace*, November, 1918.
- "HOW NATIONALITY WILL STILL COUNT IN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE," *The Americas*, V, No. 2, 1-4 (November, 1918).
- "THE MAKING OF THE 'LEAGUE OF NATIONS,'" *The Americas*, IV, No. 11, 1-6. New York, National City Bank.
- MUIR, RAMSAY. Nationalism and Internationalism, the Culmination of Modern History. London, 1917. 229 p.
- MYERS, DENYS PETER. "A League of Nations," *Homiletic Review*, December, 1918, 17-24. (New York, Funk & Wagnalls.)
- A series of five lessons intended for adult Bible classes with separate titles as follows: The History of Political Leagues; The Reasons for their Failure; The International Relations of To-day; The Need for a New League; Its Purpose and Organization.
- These lessons were reprinted in pamphlet form by the publishers; and, with a revision to cover the "victory program" of November 23, 1918, by the League to Enforce Peace.
- POLLOCK, SIR FREDERICK. "America's Plans for Enforcing Peace," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXIX, 652-655.
- SPENDER, HAROLD. "The League of Nations: A Voice from the Past," *The Contemporary Review*, CXIV, 407-414 (October, 1918).
- A discussion in the light of contemporary history of William Penn's An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament or Estates (1694). (Old South Leaflets, No. 75; Everyman's Library, etc.)
- VEBLEN, THORSTEIN B. An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of its Perpetuation. New York and London, 1917. 367 p.
- WELLS, HERBERT GEORGE. In the Fourth Year. Anticipations of a World Peace. New York, 1918. 154 p.
- WILSON, GEORGE GRAFTON. The Monroe Doctrine and the Program of the League to Enforce Peace. World Peace Foundation. 15 p. (Pamphlet Series, VI, No. 4.)
- WOOD, THOMAS MCKINNON. "A Necessary Guarantee of the Peace," *The Contemporary Review*, CXIV, 477-483 (November, 1918).
- "The moral power behind this League will be the determination of the free peoples of the world."
- 3a. GENERAL INFORMATIONAL WORKS ON PEOPLES CONCERNED IN THE PEACE.
1. Government.
- ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON. A Sketch of the Constitutional History of England. New Haven, 1918.
- HAZEN, CHARLES DOWNER. The Government of Germany. (Committee on Public Information, War Information Series, 3.) Obtainable from World Peace Foundation.
- LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE. Governments and Parties in Continental Europe. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1896. 2 vols. 22½ cm.
- A standard work for 20 years, now in its 20th edition. Chapters I-II are on France, Institutions and Parties; Chapters III-IV on Italy, Institutions and Parties; Chapters V-VII on Germany, The Structure of the Empire; Prussia and the Smaller States; The Working of the Federal Government; Chapters VIII-X on Austria-Hungary; Austria, Hungary, The Joint Government; Chapters XI-XIII on Switzerland, Institutions, The Referendum and the Initiative, Parties. Appendices contain the constitutional or fundamental laws of the states dealt with in the text.
- LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE. Greater European Governments. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1918.
- OGG, FREDERICK AUSTIN. The Governments of Europe. New York, 1913.
- WILLOUGHBY, WESTEL WOODBURY. Prussian Political Philosophy: Its principles and implications. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1918. xi, 203 p. 19½ cm.
- WILLOUGHBY, WILLIAM FRANKLIN. An Introduction to the Study of the Governments of Modern States. New York, 1918.
- WILSON, WOODROW. The State. Boston, 1918.
2. Economic and Social Conditions.
- OGG, FREDERICK AUSTIN. The Economic Development of Modern Europe. New York, 1917.
- Deals with recent social legislation also.
3. Diplomatic Relations.
- DAVIS, WILLIAM STEARNS. The Roots of the War. New York, The Century Co., 1918.
- SEYMOUR, CHARLES. The Diplomatic Background of the War. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916.
4. General Historical.
- ABBOTT, WILBUR C. The Expansion of Europe; a history of the Foundation of the Modern World. New York, 1918.
- HOLT, L., AND CHILTON, A. W. The History of Europe from 1862 to 1914. New York, 1917.
- SCHAPIRO, J. SALWYN. Modern and Contemporary History. New York, 1918.

5. Regional Histories.

- CROSS, A. L. *A History of England and Greater Britain*. New York, 1914.
- LAVELL, CECIL FAIRFIELD, AND PAYNE, CHARLES EDWARD. *Imperial Britain*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1918. 3 p. l., v-ix p., 2 l., 395 p., maps. 20½ cm.
The purpose of this volume is to present a clear picture of the character of the British Empire as the type of world organization to be obtained after the war. A considerable portion of the book is historical. Its aim, however, is constructive. Chapters 13, 14 and 15, on "Imperial Problems," "The Effects of the Great War upon the Empire," and "A Balancing of Accounts," have special relation to the future. There is a list of suggestions for readings.
- WORSFOLD, WILHAM BASIL. *South Africa; A Study in Colonial Administration and Development*. Second Edition. London, 1897. 308 p.
Excellent for the period closing in 1896 just prior to the Boer War. Much attention to economic resources.
- TILBY, A. WYATT. *South Africa, 1486-1913*. London, 1914. 632 p.
Brings the story down to the eve of the Great War. Emphasizes political and military matters, but gives some attention to economic and social affairs.
- JOSE, ARTHUR W. *History of Australasia*. Sydney, 1911. 317 p., maps, ill.
Chapters on land settlement and growth of industries. Deals also with New Zealand.
- SCOTT, ERNEST. *A Short History of Australia*. Oxford, University Press, 1916. 362 p., maps.
Touches present conditions at most points and gives a fairly adequate account of the history of the several Australian states and of the federation.
- SCHOLEFIELD, GUY H. *New Zealand in Evolution, Industrial, Economic, and Political*. London, 1909. 363 p., map, ill.
A readable account; historical background, but with emphasis on recent development and present-day (1909) conditions. An important geographical summary.
- BUXTON, NOEL EDWARD AND HAROLD. *Travel and Politics in Armenia*. London, 1914.
- RUPPIN, H. ARTHUR. *Syria, An Economic Survey*. Translated and abridged by Nellie Shaw. New York, 1918.
- TOYNBEE, ARNOLD JOSEPH. *Turkey: A Past and a Future*. New York, George H. Doran Company, 1917. 2 p. l., 85 p., 21½ cm.
- MORGENTHAU, HENRY. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918. xv, 407 p., ill. 21 cm.
- ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON. *The Growth of the French Nation*. New York, 1896.
- HAZEN, CHARLES DOWNER. *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule*. New York, 1917.
- DAWSON, WILLIAM HARBUTT. *The Evolution of Modern Germany*. New York, 1914.
- SETON-WATSON, R. W. *German, Slav, and Magyar*. London, 1916.
- SETON-WATSON, R. W. *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*. London, 1916.
- ALEXINSKI, GREGOR. *Modern Russia*. New York, 1914.
- HORNBECK, STANLEY K. *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*. New York, 1916.
- THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE. *The Life and Times of Cavour*. Boston and New York, 1911.
- VILLARI, LUIGI. *Italian Life in Town and Country*. New York, 1902.
- RUDNICKI, STEPHAN. *The Ukraine*. Jersey City, 1915.
- RIVAS, C. *La Lithuania sous la Joug allemande. (Lithuania under the German Yoke, 1915-1918.)* Lausanne, 1918. 700 p.
Untranslated but valuable because of its comprehensiveness.
- LITHUANIA'S CASE FOR INDEPENDENCE. Pamphlet published and issued by the Lithuanian National Council, 703 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- PIIP, ANTONIUS. "The Esthonian Question," *The New Europe*, August 8, 1918.
- DANE (Pseud.), "The Western Powers and Baltic Problems," *The New Europe*, October 31, 1918.
- TOYNBEE, ARNOLD JOSEPH. *Nationality and the War . . . with many colored maps*. London and Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1915. xii, 522 p., maps. 21 cm.
- WOODS, HENRY CHARLES. *The Cradle of the War: The Near East and Pan Germanism*. Boston, 1918.
By one of the best informed English writers on the subject. Deals partly with problems of the coming peace.
- ASIA (Magazine), December, 1918, number. Asia Publishing Company, 627 Lexington Avenue, New York. Price, 25 cents.
Contains clear and brief illustrated articles on The Balkans, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia.
- DIETERICH, KARL. *Hellenism in Asia Minor*. Translated from the German by Carroll N. Brown. With an introduction by Theodore P. Ion. The American Hellenic Society, 105 W. 40th Street, New York, 1918. 70 p. Price, 50 cents.
- LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT. *The Development of Japan*. New York, 1918.
- LATOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT. *China, the United States and the War*. World Peace Foundation, 1919.

3b. HISTORIES OF THE GREAT WAR.

The teacher will find a fairly adequate list of citations in publications of War Department, Committee on Education and Special Training, War Issues Course, C. e. 21, "Questions on the Issues of the War." Material is listed under the several questions, and is therefore analyzed in a very helpful manner. For copy address World Peace Foundation, Boston.

MCMASTER, JOHN BACH. *The United States in the World War*. New York, 1918.

This is a narrative of events from the murder of the Austrian archduke in June, 1914, presented from the point of view of America's interest in the world war. A very convenient summary of the main facts relating to America's entrance into the war, and her participation down to the spring of 1918.

THE WAR CABINET. *Report for the year 1917*. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of his Majesty. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918. xx, 236 p., maps. 23½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9005.)

3c. GEOGRAPHICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

FAIRGRIEVE, JAMES. *Geography and World Power*. 2d impression. New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, 1917. viii, 356 p., ill., maps. 19 cm.

Discusses the influence of the distribution of geographic elements upon the character and destinies of nations. First published by University of London Press, 1915.

FINCH, VERNOR CLIFFORD, AND BAKER, OLIVER EDWIN. *Geography of the World's Agriculture*. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917. 149 p. incl. maps, diagrams, fold. map. 26½ x 34 cm. (At head of title: U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Office of the secretary. Contributions from Office of farm management.)

An exceedingly valuable survey conducted according to the most approved census methods. It will answer the questions relative to the prospective supply of food for the world.

FLEURE, HERBERT JOHN. *Human Geography in Western Europe*. London, Williams and Norgate, 1918. viii, 263 p. 20 cm. (At head of title: *The Making of the Future*.) The chapter headings are: I, Sketch of Man in Western Europe; II, Human Zones and Regions in Western Europe; III, France; IV, The Iberian Peninsula; V, Italy; VI, From the Alps to the Northern Seas; VII, The Small Peoples; VIII, Britain and the Continent.

HOUSTON, HERBERT SHERMAN. *Blocking New Wars*. New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1918. viii, 209 p. 18½ cm.

Discusses the influence of "economic pressure" as an agency in preventing wars.

LAUGHLIN, JAMES LAURENCE. *Credit of the Nations*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. xii, 406 p. 22 cm. This volume deals with the problem of credit under the following general heads: The Economic Situation Preceding the War, War and Credit, English Credit Operations, French Money and Credit, German Credit Operations, War and Credit in Neutral United States. Appendices contain acts and regulations of the various countries concerned in the war and charts illustrating credit operations. The subject matter has primary relation to the affairs of the war time distinctively, but a good deal of it reflects forward upon the conditions, financial and economic, which will follow the war. It will be valuable as a handbook.

II. RECONSTRUCTION.

a. GREAT BRITAIN.

BRANFORD, VICTOR, AND GEDDES, PATRICK. *The Making of the Future. The Coming Polity. A study in reconstruction*. London, Williams and Norgate, 1917. xvii, 264 p. 20 cm.

CARTER, HUNTLY, Editor. *Industrial Reconstruction; a Symposium on the Situation After the War and How to Meet it*. London, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1917. xv, 295 p. 19 cm.

The volume is mainly reprinted from the *New Age*, November, 1916-April, 1917, and consists of short and apparently rather fragmentary answers to two questions set by the editor as follows:

What in your opinion will be the industrial situation after the war as regards (a) labor; (b) capital; (c) the nation as a single commercial entity?

What in your view is the best policy to be pursued by (a) labor; (b) capital; (c) the state?

These inquiries were addressed to a considerable number of men all of whom are prominent and some of them distinguished. The result is a collection of interesting off-hand judgments rather than convincing and authoritative studies.

CHAPMAN, SYDNEY JOHN. *Labour and Capital after the War*. London, John Murray, 1918.

Appendix: First report of the Committee of the Ministry of reconstruction on relations between employers and employed, J. H. Whitley, chairman. This is the famous Whitley Report, which to-day constitutes the point of departure in discussions of the labor problem.

DAWSON, WILLIAM HARBUTT, editor. *After War Problems*, by The Earl of Cromer, Viscount Haldane, the Bishop of Exeter, Professor Alfred Marshall and others. London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.; New York, The Macmillan Company, 1917. 300 p. diagm. 22 cm.

A valuable collection of treatises on Imperial Federation, The State and the Citizen, The Cultivation of Patriotism,

The Alien Question, National Education, Organization of the National Resources, The State and Industry, The State and Labor, The Relations between Capital and Labor, The Land Question, The Position of Women in Economic Life, The Rehabilitation of Rural Life, Housing After the War, National Health, The Care of Child Life, The English Poor Law, National Taxation After the War, and National Thrift. Many of the contributors are specialists on the subjects they treat and all are persons who command a respectful hearing.

GARDNER, LUCY, editor. *The Hope for Society; essays on Social Reconstruction After the War*, by various writers; edited . . . for the Interdenominational conference of the social service unions. London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1917. 236 p. 19 cm.

The essays are by the Bishop of Oxford, J. A. Hobson, Clutton Brock, Sir Hugh Bell, Dr. A. J. Carlyle, J. St. G. Heath, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Christopher Turnor, C. Roden Buxton, Philip Kerr, and J. Ernest Barker. The topics include, among others, Industrial and Financial Conditions, Capital and Labor, The Land Question, Agricultural Reconstruction, Women in Industry, The Commonwealth, and Social Relations of Men After the War.

Mr. Hobson's essay on "Industrial and Financial Conditions After the War" is a peculiarly well-reasoned, analytical and clear presentation of these major problems, with hints as to their solution.

Joint committee on labor problems after the war.

Committee comprised representatives from the Parliamentary Committee, the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions and the Workers' National Committee. Special advisory committees were added for the different problems taken up.

A MILLION NEW HOUSES AFTER THE WAR; a statement on the housing problem as affected by the war and some suggestions. London, Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd., 1917. 8 p. 24 cm.

THE MUNITIONS ACTS AND THE RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION CUSTOMS. London, Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd., 1916. 11 p. 24 cm.

Report prepared by G. D. H. Cole and Henry H. Slessor.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN AFTER THE WAR. Report of the Standing joint committee of industrial women's organizations presented to the Joint Committee on labour problems after the war. . . . London, 1917. 20 p. 23½ cm.

Standing joint committee was representative of Women's Trade Union League, Women's Labour League, National Federation of Women Workers, Railway Women's Guild and Women's Co-operative Guild. Report discusses the effects of the war upon women and the gains and losses which it has brought, especially with reference to their industrial position. Considers also what measures can be taken to retain the gains and retrieve the losses and how the period of reconstruction can best be used to improve the general social, economic and political position of women.

THE PROBLEM OF DEMOBILIZATION. A statement and some suggestions, including the proposals for the reform of employment exchanges. London, Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd., 1916. 8 p. 23½ cm.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR. Memorandum on the prevention of unemployment and the necessity for the revision of the Unemployment Insurance acts. London, Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd., 1917. 7 p. 24 cm.

THE RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION CUSTOMS AFTER THE WAR; a statement and analysis of the government guarantees. . . . London, Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd., 1917. 14 p. 23½ cm.

Contents: Introduction.—Before the Munitions Act.—The Munitions of War act, 1915.—The Munitions of War (Amendment) act, 1916.—Summary of guarantees.—Note on government establishments.—Extracts from speeches of members of the government.

THE RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION CONDITIONS IN CASES NOT COVERED BY THE MUNITIONS ACT. London, Co-operative Printing Society, Ltd., 1917. 9 p. 24 cm.

Contents: Introduction.—Treasury agreement.—Pledges given by employers.—Substitution agreements.—Substitution without agreement.—The factory acts.—Dilution in commercial work.—Methods of enforcement.

LABOR AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER. A report on reconstruction by the Subcommittee of the British Labor Party, printed as a supplement to the *New Republic* of February 16, 1918. Volume 14, page 172, Part 2.

A very complete plan of reconstruction, devised by leaders of the British labor interest. Contains interesting suggestions, some of which will seem radical to even progressive Americans, but all of which are stimulating and suggestive.

SCOTT, WILLIAM ROBERT. *Economic Problems of Peace After War;* the W. Stanley Jevons Lectures at the University College, London, in 1917. Cambridge, University Press, 1917. xii, 122 p. 22½ cm.

Mr. Scott's lectures are on the themes: The Economic Man and a World at War; For the Duration of the War; Communications of a Maritime State; The Surprises of Peace; Saving and the Standard of Life; and Organization Re-oriented. The treatment, while somewhat involved and unpleasantly repetitious, is deeply thoughtful and truth-seeking.

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD JOSEPH. *The New Europe; some essays in reconstruction* . . . with an introduction by the Earl of Cromer. London and Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1916. 85 p. 19½ cm.

"The first six . . . essays . . . appeared serially in issues of the *Nation*, from May to September, 1915."

VILLIERS, BROUGHAM. *Britain After the Peace: Revolution or Reconstruction.* New York, E. P. Dutton Co., 1918.

The author claims and seeks to prove that there will be peaceful revolutionary changes in the state of society after the close of the war.

WEBB, SIDNEY. *The Restoration of Trade Union Conditions.* London, Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 1917. 109 p., 1 l. 17 cm.

Discussion by a noted sociologist of a question of great urgency among English Labor groups.

WELLS, HERBERT GEORGE. *The Elements of Reconstruction.* London, Nisbet and Co., 1916-1917.

A series of articles contributed in July and August, 1916, to the *Times*. First published in pamphlet form in November, 1916. This is a pioneer document in the public discussion of reconstruction as a national and imperial problem. The author, one of the best known publicists of Great Britain, has here blocked out a program which has attracted the attention of the best minds in England. Lord Milner wrote the introduction for the pamphlet and showed much sympathy with and interest in the views of the author on Science in Education and Industry, on Scientific Agriculture and on education in general, while he criticised the essays on Politics and Government. The essays are six in number.

b. BRITISH GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.¹

The British Ministry of Reconstruction is the most elaborately organized undertaking of the kind. Altogether 87 committees are at work, dealing with 15 major subjects. The titles which follow have been arranged under the names of the reconstruction committees, and under the groupings adopted by the Ministry of Reconstruction.

General.

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION. . . . A list of commissions and committees set up to deal with questions which will arise at the close of the war. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918. 34 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 8916.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION. Acquisition of powers subcommittee. Report. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918. 10 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 8982.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION. Reconstruction Problems. The Aims of Reconstruction. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, Pelican Press, 1918. 18 p.

WAR CABINET. Report for the year 1917. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 236 p. 25 cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9005.)

Chap. XVI is on the Ministry of Reconstruction, its establishment, functions and administration. Includes also an account of the earlier Reconstruction committees.

I. TRADE DEVELOPMENT.

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY COMMITTEE (The Prime Minister).

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on commercial and industrial policy. . . . Final report of the Committee on commercial and industrial policy after the war. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office (Darling and Son, limited), 1918. 81 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9035). Lord Balfour of Burleigh, chairman.

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on commercial and industrial policy. . . . Imperial preference. Copy of resolutions passed by the Committee on commercial and industrial policy, on the subject of imperial preference, together with copy of covering letter to the prime minister. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1917. 4 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 8482.)

¹ Users of British Parliamentary Papers, sometimes erroneously referred to by the more restricted name of Sessional Papers, will find it most convenient to cite them by the identifying label at head of title, the specific title and the numeral indicating order in the series of papers "by command of his Majesty." Parliamentary Papers are very numerous and the command number, in the present series abbreviated as Cd. 9000, etc., is the most definite means of identification. This number is printed in square brackets at the lower left-hand corner of the title page. When the bound set of Parliamentary Papers for any year is available, with its annual index, this number is an instantaneous key for placing the volume and page where the publication desired is to be found.

Sessional Papers are papers originating in either house of Parliament and are numbered by the session, without any abbreviation preceding and in figures larger as to type.

Papers by command, on the other hand, number from 1 to 10,000 irrespective of the year in which they appear. The first series had no distinctive letter; the second series of numerals had the distinctive letter C.; and the present series employs the abbreviation Cd. The war period has resulted in exhausting the numbers from Cd. 7467 to about Cd. 9200.

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on commercial and industrial policy. Interim report on certain essential industries. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 16 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9032.)

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on commercial and industrial policy. . . . Interim report on the importation of goods from the present enemy countries after the war. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, Darling and Son, limited, printers, 1918. 4 p. 34 cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9033.)

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on commercial and industrial policy. Interim report on the treatment of exports from the United Kingdom and British overseas possessions and the conservation of the resources of the empire during the transitional period after the war. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 14 p., tables. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9034.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Industrial council and trade boards. Memorandum by the Minister of Reconstruction and the Minister of Labour. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 4 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918.)

DOMINIONS ROYAL COMMISSION.

IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE, 1918. Extracts from Minutes of Proceedings and Papers Laid before the Conference. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. London, Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918. 252 p. 32½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9177.) The contents of the volume are sufficiently indicated by the subjects dealt with in the resolutions published in the volume:

Imperial War Graves Commission; Non-Ferrous Metal Industry; Control of Raw Materials; Imperial Statistics; Imperial News Service; Dye Manufacturing Industry; Shipping; Inter-Imperial Parcels Delivery; Central Emigration Authority; Cable Communications; Channels of Communication; Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau; Demobilization; Petroleum; Naturalization; Nationality and Naturalization; Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominions; Imperial Court of Appeal; Concluding Resolution.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION (Government of India).

BELGIAN TRADE COMMITTEE (Foreign Office and Board of Trade).

TRADE RELATIONS AFTER THE WAR COMMITTEE (Board of Trade).

BOARD OF TRADE, Commercial intelligence committee. British Trade After the War. Report of a sub-committee of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Trade on commercial intelligence with respect to measures for securing the position, after the war, of certain branches of British industry. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1916. 18 p. (Parl. Pap., 1916. Cd. 8181.)

BOARD OF TRADE, Commercial intelligence committee. British Trade After the War. Summaries of the evidence taken by a sub-committee. . . . London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916. 38 p. (Parl. Pap., 1916. Cd. 8275.)

DIBBLE, GEORGE BINNEY. Germany's Economic Position, and England's Commercial and Industrial Policy after the War. London, W. Heineman, 1916. (Published for the Central Committee for national patriotic organizations.) 108 p. 18½ cm.

DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE. After-War Trade, *Board of Trade Journal*, London, January 3, 1918-April 18, 1918.

Contains other articles on reconstruction in Great Britain and other countries, including Germany.

MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS, Departmental committee on the post-war position of the sulphuric acid and fertilizer trades. Report. London, Darling and Son, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 14 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918.)

COMMITTEE ON THE CHEMICAL TRADE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee on the chemical trade. Report of Committee appointed to advise as to the procedure which should be adopted for dealing with the chemical trade. London, Darling and Son, H. M. Stationery Office, 1917. 4 p. (Parl. Pap., 1917. Cd. 8882.)

ENGINEERING TRADES (NEW INDUSTRIES) COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

BOARD OF TRADE, Engineering trades committee. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the position of the engineering trades after the war. London, Darling and Son, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 54 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918.)

BOARD OF TRADE, COMMITTEES ON THE COAL, ELECTRICAL, ENGINEERING, IRON AND STEEL, NONFERROUS METAL, AND TEXTILE TRADES, AND ON THE SHIPPING AND SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRIES.

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on shipping and shipbuilding. Reports . . . to consider the position of the shipping and shipbuilding industries after the war. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 156 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9092.)

First Report: The German control stations and the Atlantic emigrant traffic.

Second Report: Shipbuilding and marine engineering.

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on textile trades. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the position of the textile trades after the war. London, Darling and Son, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 130 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9070.)

This series of reports while prepared with especial relation to international competition discusses also problems of output, labor restriction and conditions in the industries, need for extension of technical education, etc. Three of the reports are reviewed in *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1918, p. 90-93.

BOARD OF TRADE, Iron and steel trades committee. Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the position of the iron and steel trades after the war. London, Darling and Son, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 50 p. incl. tables, diagrams. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9071.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Reconstruction committee, Coal conservation subcommittee. Interim Report on Electric Power Supply in Great Britain. London, Darling and Son, H. M. Stationery Office, 1917. 28 p. (Parl. Pap., 1917. Cd. 8880.)

II. FINANCE.

FINANCIAL FACILITIES COMMITTEE (Treasury and Ministry of Reconstruction).

BOARD OF TRADE, Committee on financial facilities for trade. Financial facilities for trade. Report to the Board of Trade by the committee appointed to investigate the question of financial facilities for trade. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, Hayman, Christy, and Lilly, limited, 1916. 8 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1916. Cd. 8346.)

On the best means of meeting the needs of British firms after the war as regards financial facilities for trade, particularly with reference to the financing of large overseas contracts.

ENEMY DEBTS COMMITTEE (Foreign Office).

III. RAW MATERIALS.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON MATERIALS SUPPLY (Ministry of Reconstruction).

COMMITTEE ON THE SUPPLY OF BUILDING MATERIALS (Ministry of Reconstruction).

COMMITTEE ON COTTON-GROWING WITHIN THE EMPIRE (Board of Trade).

INDIA COTTON COMMITTEE (Government of India).

COMMITTEE ON EDIBLE AND OIL-PRODUCING NUTS AND SEEDS (Colonial Office).

NITROGEN PRODUCTS COMMITTEE (Ministry of Munitions).

IV. COAL AND POWER.

COAL CONSERVATION COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINING, POWER GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION, CARBONIZATION, AND GEOLOGICAL SUBCOMMITTEES.

COMMITTEE ON SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY (Board of Trade).

V. INTELLIGENCE.

COMMITTEE ON COLONIAL BLUE BOOKS (Colonial Office).

IMPERIAL MINERAL RESOURCES BUREAU COMMITTEE (Ministry of Munitions).

VI. SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH.

FUEL RESEARCH BOARD.

COLD STORAGE RESEARCH BOARD.

STANDING COMMITTEES ON ENGINEERING, METALLURGY, MINING, AND GLASS AND OPTICAL INSTRUMENTS.

JOINT STANDING COMMITTEE ON ILLUMINATING ENGINEERING.

MINE-RESCUE APPARATUS RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

ABRASIVES AND POLISHING POWDERS RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

FOOD-RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

BUILDING-MATERIALS RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

ELECTRICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH ON VITREOUS COMPOUNDS, AND CEMENTS FOR LENSES AND PRISMS.

TIN AND TUNGSTEN RESEARCH BOARD.

LUBRICANTS AND LUBRICATION INQUIRY COMMITTEE.

CHEMISTRY OF LUBRICANTS SUBCOMMITTEE.

ZINC AND COPPER RESEARCH AND INQUIRY COMMITTEE.

IRISH PEAT INQUIRY COMMITTEE.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOR THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH FOR THE WOOL AND WORSTED INDUSTRIES.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINE INDUSTRY.

VII. DEMOBILIZATION AND DISPOSAL OF STORES.

INTER-ALLIED CONFERENCE ON THE AFTER-CARE OF DISABLED MEN. Held in London, May 20 to 25 (inclusive), 1918. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918. 192 p. 24½ cm.

— Supplement to volume of reports containing verbatim reports of the discussions, together with some papers presented to the conference but not included in the volume of reports.

MINISTRY OF PENSIONS. Instructions on the Treatment of Disabled Men. London, Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918. 28 p. 19 cm.

DEMOBILIZATION OF THE ARMY COMMITTEE.

OFFICERS' RESETTLEMENT SUBCOMMITTEE.

DISABLED OFFICERS' EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE (India and Colonial Offices).

WAR OFFICE DEMOBILIZATION COMMITTEE.

DEMOBILIZATION CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE (Admiralty, War Office and Ministry of Labor).

CIVIL WAR WORKERS' COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Acquisition of powers subcommittee. Report on Demobilization of all classes of civil war workers. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 11 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Civil war workers' committee. First (interim) Report on demobilization of all classes of civil war workers. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 11 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9117.)

HORSE DEMOBILIZATION COMMITTEE (War Office).

DISPOSAL OF WAR STORES ADVISORY BOARD (Ministry of Reconstruction).

VIII. LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT.

COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED (Ministry of Reconstruction).

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO INDUSTRIAL UNREST. Reports. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1917. 8 vols. (Parl. Pap., 1917. Cd. 8662-8669.)

The reports of the eight divisions composing the commission.

— Industrial Unrest in Great Britain.

Reprints of the 1. Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into Industrial unrest; 2. Interim report of the Ministry of Reconstruction on joint standing industrial councils, October, 1917. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917. 240 p. (Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 237.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee on relations between employers and employed. Report on Conciliation and Arbitration. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9081.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee on relations between employers and employed. Supplementary Report on Works Committees. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 4 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9001.)

RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE, Subcommittee on relations between employers and employed. Interim report on joint standing industrial councils. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1917. 8 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1917. Cd. 8606.)

The terms of reference of this committee (popularly known as the Whitley committee) were: (1) The make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen; (2) To recommend means for securing that industrial conditions affecting the relations between employers and workmen shall be systematically reviewed by those concerned, with a view to improving conditions in the future.

The committee recommended in this report the establishment for each of the principal well-organized industries of a triple form of organization, representative of employers and employed, consisting of Joint Industrial Councils, Joint District Councils and Works Committees, each of the three forms being linked up with the others so as to constitute an organization covering the whole of the trade, capable of considering and advising upon matters affecting the welfare of the industry, and giving to labor a definite and enlarged share in the discussion and settlement of industrial matters with which employers and employed are jointly concerned.

Reprinted in full in U. S. Bureau of labor statistics, bulletin no. 237, p. 229-235 and summarized in *Monthly Review*, September, 1917, p. 130-132.

For list of the industries which have adopted joint industrial councils see *British Labour Gazette*, July, 1918, p. 261, and August, p. 308. The constitution of the council of the pottery industry is given in the *Labour Gazette* for February, 1918, p. 49.

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee on relations between employers and employed. Second report on joint standing industrial councils. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 7 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9002.)

In this second report the Committee proposed for trades "where organization is at present very weak or non-existent an adaptation and expansion of the system of Trade Boards working under an amended Trades Boards Act; and for trades in which organization is considerable, but not yet general, a system of Joint councils with some Government assistance which may be dispensed with as these industries advance to the stage dealt with in our first report."

Reprinted in *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1918, pp. 53-58.

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee on relations between employers and employed. . . . Report on conciliation and arbitration. (In substitution of Cd. 9081). . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, Eyre and Spottiswoode, limited, 1918. 5 p. 33 cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9099.)

Differs from edition noted above only in substitution of name of one member signing the report. Committee declared itself opposed to any system of compulsory arbitration or to any scheme relating to conciliation which compulsorily prevents strikes or lock-outs pending inquiry. In addition to the machinery discussed in earlier reports the Committee recommended the establishment of a small Standing arbitration council.

Reprinted in *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1918, p. 237-240.

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee on relations between employers and employed. Final report on conciliation and arbitration. London, H. M. Stationery Office,

1918. 4 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9153.) Contains no new recommendations.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

IX. AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Reconstruction committee, Agricultural policy subcommittee. Summaries of Evidence . . . to consider and report upon the methods of effecting an increase in the home-grown food supplies, having regard to the need of such increase in the interests of national security. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 129 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9080.)

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE, Reconstruction committee, Agricultural policy subcommittee. Part 1 of the Report . . . to consider and report upon the methods of effecting an increase in home-grown food supplies, having regard to the need of such increase in the interests of national security. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1917. 32 p. (Parl. Pap., 1917.)

FORESTRY COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Reconstruction committee, Forestry Subcommittee. . . . Final Report. . . . London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 105 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 8881.)

LAND SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE (Board of Agriculture).

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES. Scheme for Land Settlement of ex-Service Men. London, 1918. 2 p. Leaflet issued June, 1918.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES, Committee on land settlement for sailors and soldiers. . . . Final report of the departmental committee appointed by the president of the Board of agriculture and fisheries to consider the settlement and employment on the land in England and Wales of discharged sailors and soldiers and Minutes of evidence. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1916. 3 vols. fold. plan. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1916. Cd. 8182, 8277, 8347.)

A law entitled "Small holding colonies act, 1916" was passed as a result of this report. For a brief statement as to the colonies already settled under the act see *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1918, p. 88-89.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES, Committee on land settlement for sailors and soldiers. British agriculture the nation's opportunity; being the Minority report of the departmental Committee on the employment of sailors and soldiers on the land, by the Hon. Edward G. Strutt, Leslie Scott . . . and G. H. Roberts . . . together with addenda on housing, etc., by the signatories, some considerations by a "free trader" in favor of their policy, and a preface and appendix on the reclamation of land, by A. D. Hall. . . . London, J. Murray, 1917. xi, 168 p. 19 cm.

Essential elements in the reconstruction of agriculture as here set forth are threefold: The establishment of such a level of prices as will render intensive farming possible; the improvement of the position of the laborer as regards wages, housing and the amenities of life; and the recognition that the ownership of land carries with it a duty to the community.

HORSE-BREEDING COMMITTEE (No. 2) (Board of Agriculture).

X. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Local Government Committee. . . . Report on Transfer of Poor Law Authorities in England and Wales. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 26 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 8917.)

COMMITTEE ON THE ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee on Acquisition and Valuation of Land for Public Purposes. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 57 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918.)

First Report of the Committee dealing with the law and practice relating to the acquisition and valuation of land for public purposes.

NATIONAL REGISTRATION COMMITTEE (Local Government Board).

COMMITTEE ON ROAD LOCOMOTIVES AND HEAVY MOTOR CARS (Local Government Board).

DENTISTS ACT COMMITTEE (Privy Council).

XI. HOUSING.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD CONFERENCE ON HOUSING.

ADVISORY HOUSING PANEL (Ministry of Reconstruction).

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Reconstruction committee. Housing in England and Wales. Memorandum by the Advisory housing panel on the emergency problem. London, Darling and Son, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 15 p. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9087.)

Estimated a shortage of 250,000 houses with 50,000 in rural regions by the end of 1917 and an additional shortage of 75,000 each year the war continues. Proposed state construction with ownership for a limited period after the war, the local authority acting as the agent of the state and becoming owner under certain conditions at the end of the period. Urged the need of preparing plans and procuring sites so that the work might begin immediately after the war and absorb part of the labor released by demobilization.

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION. Reconstruction Problems: 2. Housing in England and Wales. London, Pelican Press, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 24 p.

COMMITTEE ON BUILDING BY-LAWS (Local Government Department).

HOUSING (BUILDING CONSTRUCTION) COMMITTEE (Local Government Board).

XII. EDUCATION.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN WALES.

ADULT EDUCATION COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE EDUCATION IN RELATION TO EMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR (Board of Education).

BOARD OF EDUCATION, Committee on juvenile education in relation to employment after the war. . . . Interim report of the departmental committee on juvenile education in relation to employment after the war. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, Eyre and Spottiswoode, limited,

1916. 4 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1916. Cd. 8374.)

BOARD OF EDUCATION, Committee on juvenile education in relation to employment after the war. . . . Final report of the departmental committee on juvenile education in relation to employment after the war. Vol. I-II. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1917. 42, 89 p. 33 cm. (Parl. Pap., 1917. Cd. 8512, 8577.)

Vol. I: Report; vol. II: Summaries of evidence and appendices.

Recommended a minimum school leaving age of 14, with a system of continuation classes for young persons 14-18, the establishment of school scholarships and an extension of the system of juvenile employment bureaus, supported by local education authorities. Since the publication of this report Great Britain has passed the Education Act (Aug. 8, 1918) which prohibits employment of children under 14 and makes attendance at continuation schools obligatory from 14-18 years for 320 hours per year.

BOARD OF TRADE. Summary of information received by Board of trade from advisory committees for juvenile employment for the use of the departmental committees on juvenile education in relation to employment after the war. London, 1916. 13 p. Marked "confidential."

COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES (The Prime Minister).

COMMITTEE ON THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE (The Prime Minister).

COMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES OF ARRANGEMENTS DETERMINING SALARIES OF TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (Board of Education).

COMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES OF ARRANGEMENTS DETERMINING SALARIES OF TEACHERS IN SECONDARY, TECHNICAL, etc., SCHOOLS (Board of Education).

JUVENILE ORGANIZATIONS COMMITTEE (Home Office).

XIII. ALIENS.

ALIENS COMMITTEE (Ministry of Reconstruction).

INTERDEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCE ON MISSIONS IN INDIA.

XIV. LEGAL.

COMMITTEE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TERM "PERIOD OF THE WAR" (The Attorney General).

A bill giving power to the king by order in council to declare the date of the termination of the war passed Parliament in November, 1918.

MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, Committee to consider the legal interpretation of the term "period of the war." . . . Reports of the Committee appointed by the Attorney-general to consider the legal interpretation of the term "period of the war." . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 50 p. 33½ cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 9100.) Includes the interim reports of the Committee issued earlier in the year as well as the final report. The first report discussed the meaning of "termination of the war" and other similar phrases (of which some 20 different ones have been used) in the Emergency acts and the rules and orders made thereunder and also in government and private contracts; the second, the effect of the termination of war upon the Defense of the Realm acts; the third, the effect of the war upon contracts or apprenticeship and similar arrangements for learning a trade or profession and upon duration of service in the army

under the enlistment and compulsory systems. The final report covers the rest of the emergency legislation. Appendix includes a summary of emergency legislation to October, 1917.

WAR OFFICE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION COMMITTEE.

PARLIAMENT, House of Commons, Select committee on emergency legislation. First Report. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1918. 108 p. (Sess. Pap., 1918. 108.) (August 5, 1918. Reports and papers.)

COMMITTEE ON PRE-WAR CONTRACTS (Board of Trade)

BOARD OF TRADE, Pre-war contract committee. Pre-war contracts. Report of the committee appointed by the Board of trade to consider the position of British manufacturers and merchants in respect of pre-war contracts. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, Darling and Son, limited, 1918. 8 p. 33 cm. (Parl. Pap., 1918. Cd. 8975.)

XV. MISCELLANEOUS COMMITTEES.

MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCTION AND DEMOBILIZATION.

EMPIRE SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE (Colonial Office).

COLONIAL OFFICE, Empire settlement committee. Report to the secretary of state for the colonies of the committee appointed to consider the measures to be taken for settling within the empire ex-service men who may desire to emigrate after the war. . . . London, H. M. Stationery Office, printed by Darling and Son, limited, 1917. iii, 62 p. 34 cm. (Parl. Pap., 1917. Cd. 8672.) Summarized in *Labour Gazette* (Gt. Brit.), September, 1917, p. 313.

CIVIL AERIAL TRANSPORT COMMITTEE (Air Ministry).

C. THE UNITED STATES.

Special attention should be paid to the publications of government departments, particularly the Departments of Labor, of the Interior and of Commerce. The Department of Labor has in preparation an important report on a Land Colonization Plan. Secretary Franklin K. Lane describes the Department of Interior plan for utilizing the labor of soldiers in reclamation projects in *The Independent*, October 26, 1918.

SUGGESTIONS ON AMERICAN RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, Analysis of Main Tendencies in the Principal Belligerent Countries of Europe with statistics of Production, Consumption, and Trade in Important Foodstuffs and Industrial Raw Materials Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918. 74 p. 23½ cm. (Department of Commerce, William C. Redfield, Secretary, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. B. S. Cutter, Chief. Miscellaneous Series.—No. 73).

CLEVELAND, FREDERICK ALBERT, AND SCHAFER, JOSEPH, editors. *Democracy in Reconstruction*. Twenty essays by American specialists. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919 (promised for March). Probably \$1.50. *Contents*: Chap. I, Introduction: Historical Background of Reconstruction, by Joseph Schafer; I, *Ideals of Democracy*: Chaps. II-III, Democratic Ideals as Outlined by President Wilson, by Frederick A. Cleveland; Underlying Concepts of Democracy, by W. W. Willoughby; II, *Institutions of Democracy*: Chaps. IV-VII, Democracy and Private Property, by Carl Kelsey; Democracy and the Family, by Arthur J. Todd; Democratizing Institutions for Social Betterment, by Edward Cary Hayes;

Democratizing Institutions for Public Service, by W. F. Willoughby; III, *After-War Social Problems*: Chaps. VIII-XII, Public Health, by Esther C. Lovejoy, M.D.; Public Education, by Samuel P. Capen, and Charles R. Mann; Saving and Thrift, by William H. Carothers; Insurance, by Samuel M. Lindsay; Child Welfare, by Mary E. Titzel; IV, *After-War Economic Problems*: Chaps. XIII-XVII, Demobilization and Unemployment, by Harold G. Moulton; Relations of Capital and Labor, by William F. Ogburn; The Railroad Question, Statement of the Interstate Commerce Commission with the Dissenting Opinion of Commissioner Woolley; Ocean-Borne Commerce, by William E. Lingelbach; Motor Transport, by R. C. Hargreaves; V, *After-War Political Problems*: Chaps. XVIII-XX, General Condition of Efficiency, by Frederick A. Cleveland; The Rights and Duties of Minorities, by Chester C. Moxey; The Commonwealth Conference, by Frederic G. Young. Appendix: A Syllabus for Teachers, prepared by Frederick A. Cleveland.

FRIEDMAN, ELISHA MICHAEL, Editor. *American Problems of Reconstruction*. Foreword by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1918. \$4.00.

This work is serviceable to the teacher as a handbook for constant reference. In Part I, "A Perspective of the Problem," the editor deals thoughtfully with the principles underlying reconstruction plans both in Europe and in America. And he includes in this section also a discussion by Alexander D. Noyes of war and after-war economic problems and a dissertation on the American of To-morrow by George W. Perkins.

Part II treats of "Efficiency in Production" and contains contributions on Mineral Reserves by George Otis Smith; Technical Research, by Willis R. Whitney, A. A. Potter and Allen Rogers; Scientific Management, by Frank B. and Lillian M. Galbreth; Readjustment of Industries, by Charles M. Schwab and Bernard C. Hesse; Capital, Labor and the State, by Louis B. Wehle, and Concentration and Control in Industry and Trade, by William B. Colver.

Part III is on "Adjustments in Trade and Finance." Ray Morris discusses the Railroad Problem; Charles J. Brand, Produce Exchanges; Emory R. Johnson, The Shipping Problem; Edwin J. Clapp, The Free Port; Oscar P. Austin, International Commerce; Chauncey Depew Snow, Government Aids to Trade; Henry E. Cooper, Financing Our Foreign Trade; Robert L. Owen, Stabilizing Foreign Exchange, and Francis H. Sisson, Foreign Investments. Part IV, "Programs, Monetary and Fiscal," contains five essays, each of special interest and importance in its special domain. The first is by Professor Irving Fisher on Stabilizing the Dollar in Purchasing Power, the second by E. W. Kammerer on the War and Interest Rates, the third by Frank A. Vanderlip on National Thrift, the fourth by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, on Fiscal Reconstruction, and the fifth by Frederick A. Cleveland on the broad fundamental question, Can Democracy be Efficient? The Mechanics of Administration.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE CONFERENCE. Held under the auspices of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America in Cooperation with Banking and Transportation Interests of the United States at New York City, December 6, 7, 8, 1915. New York City, National Association of Manufacturers, 1916. 486 p. 23 cm.

RECONSTRUCTION, A Herald of the New Time. Allan L. Benson, editor. New York, Reconstruction Publishing Company, 1919.

Vol. I, No. 1, is January, 1919.

THOMPSON, LAURA A. *Reconstruction: A Preliminary Bibliography*. Washington, U. S. Department of Labor Library. 57 p.

Mimeographed list of 415 items, with index. "Covers only literature in the Department of Labor Library. A more comprehensive bibliography is in preparation."

d. MAGAZINE ARTICLES.

"AFTER THE WAR—REACTION OR RECONSTRUCTION," *New Republic*, Editorial, January 19, 1918, pp. 331-333.

An investigation of the advantages and disadvantages of nationalization of economic organization before reversion to private control is insisted on.

"AGRARIAN REORGANIZATION," *New Republic*, June 19, 1918, pp. 333-334.

Describes the land settlement project of California.

BALDRIDGE, C. L., "International Trade Revolution," *New Republic*, June 12, 1918, pp. 306-308.

Discusses problems of collective, as opposed to individual, exporting and importing after the war. Suggestive.

CARLTON, FRANK TRACY, "Labor and Capital After the War," *The Public*, March 23, 1918.

Somewhat general, but lays down a few fundamental principles.

FRANK, GLENN, "A General Staff for Peace," *Century*, April, 1918, pp. 860-864.

Emphasizes the need of a governmental commission of reconstruction, with representation of all fundamental classes.

KENNEDY, PHILIP BENJAMIN, "Formation of the British Metals Corporation," *Commerce Reports*, December 3, 1918. No. 283, p. 849.

LATIN AMERICAN DIVISION, BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE, "Mexican Plans for Reconstruction," *Commerce Reports*, December 3, 1918, No. 283, p. 852.

LOBIA, ACHILLE, "Italy's After-war Problems," *The Americas*, V, No. 2, 27-30 (November, 1918).

Translation of an article in *Nuovo Antologia*.

"NATIONAL LABOR POLICY," *New Republic*, Editorial, April 13, 1918, pp. 314-315.

Describes the achievements of the Labor Policies Board.

NOURSE, EDWIN GRISWOLD, "The New Agriculture," *Yale Review*, October, 1918, pp. 90-105.

Describes the new tendency to agricultural co-operation; also, co-operative farming. Good.

OLNEY, HARRY W., "Mobilizing New England Farms," *The Public*, May 25, 1918, p. 668.

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II. Presents the view that export trade will be largely converted into import trade, with adoption of the principle of unified purchasing.

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